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Greetings Sent to MSZMP Congress Opening

AU0910140189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] has sent the following message to the congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]:

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee and all Bulgarian Communists we most cordially greet you on the opening of your congress.

We are confident that the congress will discuss in a comprehensive and responsible manner the exceptionally important issues of restructuring and renewing the socialist society, faced by the Hungarian Communists.

We express our conviction that traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our two parties will further develop and strengthen.

We wish you fruitful and creative work for the benefit of the Hungarian people and in the benefit of socialism and peace.

Zhivkov Greets Nyers on Election

AU1010204989 Sofia BTA in English 1910 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 10 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, has cabled the following telegram to Mr Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party:

"Dear Comrade Nyers,

"On behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and on my own behalf I congratulate you most cordially on the occasion of your election as chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

"I wish you good health and every success in your highly responsible work for the well-being of the Hungarian people.

"I express our desire and preparedness to maintain and promote fruitful contacts between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Party, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Hungarian People's Republic, in the best interests of the cause of peace and socialism."

GDR's 40th Anniversary Observed in Sofia

Embassy Holds Reception

AU0910141089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Oct 89 p 6

[Text] On 4 October Egon Rommel, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, gave a reception at the Embassy halls on 7 October, GDR's National Day. On that day the GDR people celebrate the 40th anniversary of establishing their state. The following comrades came to convey greetings on GDR's National Day: Georgi Atanasov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Petur Tanchev, Georgi Yordanov, and Stoyan Ovcharov; ministers; deputy chairmen of the National Assembly; leaders of sociopolitical organizations; and noted figures from the fields of science and culture.

Chiefs and members of diplomatic missions also attended the reception.

The reception took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Leaders Send Greetings

AU0910135489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and State Council chairman, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following message to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers:

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, all Bulgarian people, and on our personal behalf we send most cordial greetings and wishes to you, the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council and Council of Ministers, and all GDR people on the 40th GDR anniversary.

The victory of the USSR and the other countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition in World War II created the possibility of Germany's peaceful and democratic development. The struggle of the workers' class and all progressive forces for social liberation triumphed under those conditions, and on 7 October 1949 the GDR was established.

Under the SED leadership your people achieved impressive results in constructing and strengthening their socialist republic. Today they enjoy political stability, a dynamically developing economy, and a high standard of living. The GDR efforts to construct the socialist society and perfect it on the basis of continuity and renewal are well known and appreciated in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The first state of workers and peasants on German soil enjoys well-deserved respect and recognition in the international arena. In close cooperation with the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact member countries, the GDR actively contributes to strengthening peace and asserting equality and mutually beneficial cooperation among peoples, especially in the center of Europe. Already in the first days after founding the GDR the People's Republic of Bulgaria established relations of constantly developing fraternal friendship, solidarity, and close cooperation with it. They are based on the solid foundation of the unity of opinions of the BCP and SED on the main issues of socialist construction and international life. On the day of your remarkable anniversary we wish you, dear comrades, and the GDR people new and even greater successes in further constructing the socialist society and greeting the 12th SED Congress in a worthy manner.

Zhivkov Visits Berlin for GDR Anniversary

Meets Ceausescu, Ortega

*AU0710191289 Sofia BTA in English
1840 GMT 7 Oct 89*

[Text] Sofia, October 7 (BTA)—During his visit to Berlin for the 40th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, had meetings with Mr Nguyen Van Lihn, general secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Vietnam, with Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of Romania and with Mr Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Executive Commission of the National Leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and president of Nicaragua.

They discussed issues of mutual interest. The meetings passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Attends Reception Hosted by Honecker

*AU0710210789 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 7 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] This evening, Erich Honecker gave a festive reception in the Palace of the Republic in Berlin to mark the 40th anniversary of the GDR. The reception was attended by (?outstanding) GDR citizens who had invested their labor and talents in socialist construction, as well as by the party and state leaders of a number of socialist countries who attended the celebrations, including Comrades Mikhail Gorbachev, Todor Zhivkov, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Milos Jakes, Nicolae Ceausescu, and others. The reception took place in an extremely festive and friendly atmosphere. [passage omitted]

This evening Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the party and state delegation led by him departed for Bulgaria. At Schoenefeld Airport the Bulgarian party and state leader cordially took leave of the GDR party and state figures present there. The Soviet delegation led by Comrade Gorbachev also departed, as did a number of other foreign representatives.

Returns to Sofia

*AU0810161189 Sofia BTA in English
1529 GMT 8 Oct 89*

[Text] Sofia, October 8 (BTA)—The Bulgarian party and state delegation headed by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], and president of the State Council, returned from Berlin late last night where it paid a visit at the invitation of Mr Erich Honecker, secretary general of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, for participation in the celebrations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary from the foundation of the German Democratic Republic.

Returning Muslims Subject to Medical Checks

*AU0910211189 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 9 Oct 89*

[Text] Between 650 and 950 Bulgarian citizens are returning from Turkey every day. The measures envisaged by the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare for preventing the transmission and spreading of infectious diseases are being strictly applied in the case of these travelers.

As the ministry reports, all returning citizens are subjected to examinations as early as at the medical services of the border checkpoints, and are tested for cholera. They are checked for lice, and those who are parasite carriers are cleaned.

The centers for testing and checking for infectious diseases, as well the medical services and the pharmaceutical center are working day and night. Individual cases of infectious diseases have been established.

In local medical centers, persons returning from Turkey are being checked for abdominal typhoid, malaria, and AIDS and once more for cholera. No case of the aforementioned diseases has been established so far.

All health establishments in our country have joined the efforts aimed at preventing the transmission and spreading of infectious diseases by those returning from Turkey.

WHO Report on Turkish Accusations Cited

*AU1010091089 Sofia BTA in English
0817 GMT 10 Oct 89*

["WHO Commission Refutes Accusations Against Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 10 (BTA)—Dr Joe Aswal, regional director of the WHO for Europe and Sir Henry Yellowliese, head of the WHO mission which after Bulgaria's invitation studied the facts about Turkey's accusations about medical treatment of the Bulgarian citizens travelling for Turkey and arriving there, handed the managers of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare a report of the 12-member commission.

The announcement of the ministry on this occasion stresses the following inferences and conclusions made from the report.

—Refutes the accusation against the Bulgarian health care for rendering immunes and vaccines other than the ones which are needed for prophylaxis against infectious diseases and rendered to the whole of the population.

The commission stresses that the rumours of injections containing substances injurous to health are untrue.

—Refutes Turkey's allegation of premature or forcible discharges from hospitals of ill people and women in child birth.

The report stresses the high level of health prophylaxis in Bulgaria, the use of a scientifically grounded immune calendar for the whole of the population.

The opinion of the prestigious international doctors' commission is firm evidence that the Turkish propaganda accusations are tendentious even without proofs. It is clear from the report that the Bulgarian health care is slandered before the world public. It has become evident once again that in order to achieve its unseemly aims the Turkish side will go any length even when such all-human values as the health of the people are concerned.

Stepan-led CPCZ Delegation Visits Sofia 3 Oct

Talks With Panev

AU0310190889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] On 3 October in Sofia talks took place between a delegation of the Sofia City Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] led by Comrade Ivan Panev, and the visiting CSSR delegation led by Miroslav Stepan, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and first secretary of the CPCZ Prague City Committee.

Ivan Panev briefed the guests on the restructuring that is taking place in our country and on the processes of renewal in the political, economic, and cultural spheres. He talked about the tasks now faced by Sofia Communists and stressed the role of the Sofia municipal party committees and the municipal people's councils under the new conditions.

Comrade Ivan Panev spoke in detail about the structural and technological renewal of Sofia's economy and the reasonable use of its great scientific potential.

For his part, Miroslav Stepan talked about the CSSR's economic and political reforms and the program on Prague's socioeconomic development until the year 2005.

Mutual willingness was expressed to develop relations between Sofia and Prague city party committees in an even more dynamic fashion, to strengthen contacts between the mayorships of the two capitals, and to develop direct cooperation between enterprises, trusts, and other organizations.

Meets Zhivkov

AU0410170689 Sofia BTA in English 1610 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 6 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, received today Mr Miroslav Stepan, member of the Presidium of the CC of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party (KSC) and first secretary of the Prague KSC City Committee which is paying a visit here at the invitation of the Sofia City Committee of the BCP.

At the meeting which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere the significance was stressed of the development of fraternal relations and of cooperation between the BCP and the CCP [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.

The responsibility was stressed of the party organizations of Sofia and Prague for the raising of relations to a qualitatively new level, for the attainment of real and significant results in their joint activity.

Mr Todor Zhivkov acquainted the guest with the topical tasks of restructuring which is taking place in all spheres of life in Bulgaria.

Mr Miroslav Stepan spoke of the work of Communists and working people in Czechoslovakia and of the further development of socialist society in the country, of the preparation of the KSC 18th Congress.

At a press conference given later, Mr Miroslav Stepan assessed as very successful talks between the delegation of the Prague KSC City Committee, headed by him and the delegation of the Sofia City Committee of the BCP, headed by its First Secretary Mr Ivan Panev, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP.

Mr Miroslav Stepan expressed satisfaction with the good friendly international relations between communists of the two capitals and with the fact that the good relations between the BCP and the KSC were confirmed at his meeting with Mr Todor Zhivkov.

Dwelling on his meeting with Mr Todor Zhivkov he indicated that the changes taking place in all socialist countries were again confirmed there, that socialism in its whole is facing new tasks. There is a presence of new external conditions, which are more favourable than the ones in the past, and their creation is connected with the gradual realization of the policy of the new political thinking in international relations, Mr Miroslav Stepan said, adding that that does not mean the ending of class struggle. We know that alongside with the realization of socialist reforms the enemies of socialism are activated, too, he indicated.

Mr Miroslav Stepan expressed satisfaction that the idea of the Prague delegation to hold a meeting in the near future of the first secretaries of the party organizations from the capitals of the socialist countries was backed in the talks in Sofia.

GDR Refugee Crisis Deemed 'Intolerable'

AU0610135089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Oct 89 pp 1, 7

["vpl, kov, dou, CTK"-signed report: "GDR and CSSR Governments' Efforts to Resolve an Intolerable Situation"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondents and CTK)—As we reported in yesterday's issue of our newspaper, the GDR citizens staying at the FRG Embassy in Prague and its surroundings have been allowed to leave for the FRG, on the basis of a GDR Government decision and following an agreement between the GDR and CSSR Governments. As is stated in an ADN report, the GDR Government was primarily guided by concern for the situation of children who had found themselves in a stressful situation.

At the same time, following intensive negotiations between the GDR, the FRG, and the CSSR, conditions have been created for the GDR citizens to leave the territory of Czechoslovakia. The first train of 10 railroad cars dispatched from the GDR arrived at the railway station at Prague-Liben Wednesday [4 October] afternoon. Another nine trains are expected to arrive in Prague Wednesday night. According to press agency reports, groups of provocateurs on GDR territory attempted to damage these trains.

In the late afternoon on Wednesday, the first convoy of buses (which, too, had been dispatched from the GDR) with GDR citizens who had been staying at the FRG Embassy in Prague and in its surroundings arrived at the railway station at Prague-Liben. The first train with more than 900 passengers left shortly after 1800.

The transportation of at least 10,000 GDR citizens requires extraordinary measures both in the streets of Prague and on the tracks of the Czechoslovak State Railroads.

Engineer Jan Bartoska, deputy chief of the Prague-Liben station, told our correspondent: "Tonight we expect to dispatch 10 special trains. In view of the fact that we provide the trains with our own engines and crews, which accompany the trains up to Decin, as required by our regulations, the situation will also have an impact on our passenger transportation in the next few days. The engines and their crews have had to be withdrawn from normal traffic, to say nothing of the complications on the much-frequented Prague-Decin route where practically all freight transportation has come to a standstill."

Wednesday night, our correspondent Michal Kuzmiak telephoned the following report from the Prague-Liben railway station: Young people, families with children, only rarely is an older face to be seen. Frenetic exclamations, chanting of Deutschland, Deutschland. A disorganized crowd of people heading for the train, which will soon depart for the FRG, via Decin and the GDR.

"Why are you leaving for the FRG?," I asked two boys and a girl aged around 20. Their answers come one by one. "I want money and freedom." "I want to travel." And, finally, "They are waiting for me." "Who?" "Well..., everyone."

In a way, these answers testify to the views and way of thinking of young people who, with biscuits and Coca Cola cans in their hands, are heading toward a future which FRG television has been painting in the rosiest colors.

Serious Problems in Prague Transportation

As Zdenek Horcik, mayor of Prague, declared at a session of the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic on Wednesday, the approximately 900 vehicles of GDR citizens parked in Prague-1 and the additional 700 vehicles parked in other parts of the capital have become a serious problem. The abandoned passenger cars obstruct passage to hospitals, make impossible the cleaning of the city, obstruct supplies, and so forth. Tuesday night [3 October] alone, the tow-away vehicles of various organizations carried an additional 106 vehicles to temporary guarded parking places at Dzban, Strahov, and elsewhere. According to the mayor, the situation should be fully resolved by the end of the week. About 50 drivers from the GDR have already started to transport these automobiles to the GDR.

Following Tuesday's move of the GDR Government (the abolition of visa- and passport-free travel by GDR citizens to the CSSR), calm prevails at the border checkpoints between the CSSR and the GDR. On Wednesday, however, GDR citizens started to illegally cross the border in the unguarded border zone of the Krusne Hory mountains. Several GDR citizens suspected of having crossed the border illegally have been detained in CSSR border districts.

In spite of the tremendous effort of the CSSR Government to contribute to a humanitarian settlement of the situation that has come about, in the last few days Czechoslovakia has become the target of outrageous attacks by a considerable part of the West German media. In an article on Wednesday, the daily BILD, for example, claims that, supposedly, "when the refugees managed to get past the roadblocks near the embassy, Czech policemen beat the Germans like cattle."

The SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, in turn, has been scaring the West German public with reports about "the first bloody clashes between the refugees and the Czechoslovak police," which allegedly came to pass in Prague on Tuesday. The Wednesday issue of DIE WELT wrote that, according to the words of GDR citizens, the Czech police stationed near the FRG Embassy in Prague "beat them like mad" to prevent them from getting inside. The West Berlin daily BERLINER MORGENPOST claims with characteristic impertinence that "the Czechoslovak policemen have become the myrmidons of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] regime and cracked down even on women and children. Thereby, the CSSR Government has put itself in the pillory before the whole world."

What can we add to these statements? As our correspondents who were at the West German mission in Prague on Tuesday agreed, the behavior of the absolute majority of members of the Public Security Corps who were trying to maintain public order in this area, under very complicated conditions, was correct. It is true that there was some jostling when GDR citizens preventing free passage through the streets in the vicinity of the embassy refused to obey instructions from members of the Public Security Corps and that there were isolated cases of truncheons being used, but in no case was there any "mad beating of Germans by Czech policemen" as alleged by a part of West German media in an attempt to stir up anti-Czechoslovak sentiments in the FRG. Let us also call attention to the fact that the West German and West Berlin police are famous for their unscrupulous, harsh crackdowns on violators of public order or when dispersing demonstrations.

At the same time there is no doubt that a great deal of responsibility for the present situation is borne by Bonn's absurd claim to "protect all Germans" no matter where they live, practically on the entire territory of the former German Reich, whose eclipse the constitutional bodies of the FRG still refuse to accept. They insist on some sort of a "single German citizenship," although two German states—the FRG and the GDR—have existed for 40 years and are represented in the UN and other international bodies.

The insistence on this illogical and unrealistic "single German citizenship," to which FRG authorities are allegedly bound by constitutional law, is not only anachronistic but, as the present events show, could lead to an extremely dangerous situation. What is happening now testifies to a certain renaissance of the nationalist pan-Germanic idea with which European nations, including ours, have had unpleasant experiences.

Situation at FRG Embassy 'Almost Normal' 6 Oct

AU1010133489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Oct 89 p 2

["mik, zr"-signed report: "FRG Embassy: Most Abandoned Vehicles Towed Away"]

[Text] Prague/Bonn (from our correspondents)—According to sources at the FRG Embassy in Prague, only a "minimum number of GDR citizens" was staying there Friday [6 October] night (world agencies refer in this connection to 20 people). The situation around the embassy is almost normal. Most abandoned vehicles from the GDR have been towed away.

As previously reported, some individuals took advantage of the extraordinary situation to engage in criminal activity. Since 1 October members of the Municipal District Administration of the National Security Corps in Prague-1 have detained 86 offenders in the vicinity of the FRG Embassy in Prague; they were stealing parts and fixtures from the abandoned vehicles (six of them were detained when driving away with the whole car!).

According to a DPA report, since 11 September when the Hungarian People's Republic "opened its borders" more than 28,000 GDR citizens departed for the FRG via Hungary. A total of 41,240 GDR citizens have left for the FRG via Poland, Hungary, and the CSSR since 11 September.

Hungarian Parliament Accused of 'Interference'

AU1010133789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Sep 89 p 7

["zr"-signed Budapest dispatch: "Hungary: Parliament To Meet Again After the Congress; Statement on the Events of 1968 Adopted"]

[Excerpt] Budapest—[passage omitted on bills discussed and approved by the Hungarian National Assembly on 28 September]

At the proposal of the foreign affairs committee, the deputies of the Hungarian National Assembly approved by a majority of votes a statement in which Parliament dissociates itself from the participation by Hungary in the military solution to the situation in Czechoslovakia in August 21 years ago. Of 273 deputies, 11 voted against the statement and 12 abstained from voting.

The statement is similar to the one which the Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party adopted some time ago. It takes the events of 1968 out of their historical context and was drafted without any consultation with the Czechoslovak side. There is no doubt that the purpose of the statement, albeit it concerns Hungary's role in the events, is to interfere in the internal affairs of the CSSR.

Adamec Receives USSR's Belousov 6 Oct

LD0610143389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] At the Hrzen Palace today, Federal Premier Laslislav Adamec received Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and informed him of the political and economic situation in Czechoslovakia, for which the most important thing is the effort to restructure social life. He emphasized that we follow developments in the USSR with interest and understanding.

Igor Belousov acquainted Ladislav Adamec with the key reform of the management of the Soviet economy, which is based on a two- tier system of management, directive planning, and khozraschet [preceding word in Russian, meaning economic accountability] responsibility of working collectives.

The two representatives also exchanged views on the changeover of the defense industry to nonmilitary industry and related problems.

Yang Shangkun Sends Telegram to Husak

AU1010100889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Oct 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Ties Of Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] Beijing—Yang Shangkun, president of the People's Republic of China, has sent Gustav Husak, CSSR president, a congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Czechoslovakia. In the telegram it is emphasized that Czechoslovakia was one of the first countries to establish diplomatic ties with the PRC. Ties of friendship and cooperation between both countries then developed successfully and achieved good results. In recent years, thanks to bilateral joint endeavors, relations between China and Czechoslovakia have entered into a new era and are comprehensively developing on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. This benefits not only the matter of socialism in both our countries, but it also has a positive significance for the preservation of peace in the world. I sincerely desire the further development of relations between China and Czechoslovakia, as well as the continuing enhancement of friendship between the people of both our countries, says the telegram.

URO Delegation Returns From PRC 5 Oct

AU1010163189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] A Central Trade Union Council [URO] delegation headed by Miroslav Zavadil, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium and URO chairman, returned home from its official visit to the People's Republic of China on Thursday [5 October]. The delegation was welcomed at Prague Airport by Miroslav Spaniel, a URO secretary. Wang Xingda, PRC ambassador to the CSSR, was present.

Nobel Peace Prize Award to Dalai Lama Criticized

AU1010105889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Oct 89 p 7

[Vladimir Divis commentary: "Why the Dalai Lama?"]

[Text] Why was this year's Nobel Peace Prize awarded to the Dalai Lama in particular, to this Tibetan religious and political figure? What kind of peace-creating acts can he carry out?

The 54-year-old Dalai Lama, head of the Lamaist Church in Tibet, has devoted the greater part of his life to the struggle for the partition of Tibet from China, a part of which it was even before the Chinese Revolution. Thirty years ago (1959) he fled from his homeland and settled in India, where he still lives today. From there he constantly appeals to his fellow countrymen to struggle against the central Beijing government by all possible means. The result of this endeavor is more than bitter. Instead of taking an interest in peace and tranquility in Tibet as a spiritual shepherd, he provokes the Tibetan population to staging senseless rebellions and committing violence, which can hardly contribute to Tibet's political-economic and social progress. At the same time, he rejects any kind of initiative from Beijing for a direct dialogue.

Why did the members of the Norwegian Nobel Committee decide this year in particular to confer the peace prize on the advocate of Tibetan separatism? Undoubtedly, this is closely linked to the recent events in the Chinese metropolis. Some circles in the West do not conceal their attempt to make use of each opportunity, no matter how small, to distinctively "pay back" the Beijing government for its military intervention against the spreaders of unrest and instability.

From the point of view of the ranks of the Chinese anti-socialist opposition, no sufficiently well-known personality has been found abroad whom it would be worth festooning with the Nobel Peace Prize and, thus, strengthening his domestic and international authority. Therefore, the choice fell upon the Dalai Lama.

Throughout its history, the Nobel Peace Prize has had many worthy recipients to whom this prestigious international award rightly belongs. However, recently it has been abused more than once in order to provide moral and political support for opposition forces in socialist countries, just as this year's choice demonstrates.

Adamec Speaks at 2 Oct Joint Government Session

AU0510135189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Oct 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Not Procrastinating About the Restructuring of the Economic Mechanism; A Joint Session of the Governments of the CSSR, Czech Socialist Republic, and Slovak Socialist Republic"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR, Czech Socialist Republic, and Slovak Socialist Republic Governments, headed by their premiers—Ladislav Adamec, Frantisek Pitra, and Pavel Hrivnak—have held a joint session in Prague. Ivan Knotek, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, also participated in the proceedings. The governments discussed the implementation of the restructuring of the economic mechanism, which will come into operation from 1 January of next year, and they became acquainted with the drafts for next year's state plan and budget. Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, was the first to deliver a speech.

Why did we decide to convene this session, said Ladislav Adamec in his introduction. First and foremost, in order to unify our joint course of action in preparing for 1990. This will be a key period and in many ways it will be decisive for the success of restructuring and for our country's future. This will be the year of our transfer to the new economic mechanism and a fitting conclusion to the Eighth 5-Year Plan and it will be the year of our responsible preparation for the Ninth 5-Year Plan and the 18th CPCZ Congress. In this way we will introduce the principles for increasing collaboration among our three governments, principles which we set out in our policy statement.

A meeting at this level is taking place for the first time in the federation's 20-year existence. We envisage that this meeting will not only be an exception but will become a regular future occurrence.

We Will Take An Important Step

On 1 January the whole of our republic will enter into the new economic conditions. What has been up until now a matter only for selected experimenting enterprises or for individual branches will become in 3 months the generally valid norm and a binding rule for all. The situation in the center and in the enterprise sphere will fundamentally change. We will take an important step toward gradually limiting administrative management in favor of economic management, direct management in favor of indirect management, and operative management in favor of strategic management. This will be a gradual process but without unnecessary procrastination, halfheartedness, and compromises; this will be a process requiring a thorough and decisive course of action.

The unbalanced state of our economy, however, will make this transition even more complicated and, I dare say, even more risky. It is impossible to conceal and underestimate any of this. Our endeavor is to avoid unnecessary mistakes and to prevent the outbreak of further complications.

So far, experiences with restructuring confirm two fundamental things. No one—in our country or anywhere else—has to date come up with a universal recipe for a problem-free, a conflict-free, and painless way of introducing profound changes to the management system which has been in operation up until now. It is necessary to pay a certain price for the fundamental turnaround in the structure, mechanisms, organizations and cadres, methods of management, ingrained approaches, and methods of thinking. Among other things, it is necessary to pay a certain price for the temporary reduction of certainties and for the transitory difficulties and higher costs. At the same time, the government cannot appear before the citizens with a program that worsens the situation. However, as realists we must reckon with this alternative. But we must support restructuring with positive results in something. We promised this and it is impossible to disappoint the people's expectations.

A number of known and unknown complications await us. What will come out of this for our work? Throughout the past 12 months we have done a great deal to clarify the Federal Government's tasks and its relationship with the governments of the republics, the national committees, and enterprises. But we are still right at the very beginning in many ways in preparing for the new conditions. To put it frankly—that is the main thing now awaiting us, emphasized Ladislav Adamec.

On which fundamental approaches for formulating a united and efficient national economic center must we concur? How are we to understand the substance of this concept and in what way can a clarification of its functions and operation benefit us? What is changing in the federal and national governments', the interdepartmental and branch organs', and the center's attitude to the primary elements?

It is necessary to draw conclusions from: the transfer from a three-tier management system to a two-tier one; from the substantial separation of the central sphere from the economic accountability one; and from limiting the possibility of operative and administrative interventions in enterprises' activities. I do not want to enumerate all the other new conditions. However, the fact is that from 1 January next year our government and its individual departments will not be able to guarantee tasks by the method of work used so far. This would threaten the break up of the management system and would slow down the restructuring of the economic mechanism. I say this absolutely frankly. Certain signals concerning the low level of our measures' efficiency are giving us a serious warning. It would be irresponsible, to say the least, if we were to shut our eyes to this danger.

Where do I see the main weaknesses in our work to date? First and foremost, in the fact that part of the apparatus is continuing to rely on the inertia of the ideas which influence economic life by means of mere resolutions, orders, bans, limits, and restrictions. There are also, however, those who see the essence of the new style of work in merely thinking up guidelines and the most various systemic measures possible. They rely too much on the automatic operation of the mechanisms and on pressure from economic conditions. At the same time, they forget that the strength of the economic instruments and methods of management has been, as a consequence of the profound economic imbalance, substantially weakened and that, in a number of cases, it even functions in the opposite direction. That is the reality which it is impossible to forget while making decisions and while resolving problems.

Society Cannot Foot The Bill For Anyone

We have placed the need to actively come to terms with the manifestations of profound economic imbalance at the forefront in our policy statement and in other documents and speeches. It is being indicated more and more that without gradually overcoming this imbalance we will not succeed in transferring to the new economic mechanism, in implementing the structural changes, or even in increasing the efficiency of our economy. And, without all of this, maintaining or even improving the quality of our standard of living is unrealistic.

There is not one government procedure where we would not come up against the barriers of imbalance. We need to purchase some things abroad but we lack the foreign currency to do so. We would like to eradicate some injustices in remuneration but we do not have the financial resources for this. We need to deal with ecological problems but we are short of construction capacities and technological units. No matter what we are dealing with, we always lack something somewhere—korunas, foreign currency, people, materials, export funds. All of this makes our decision making very difficult and even reduces the effect of good decisions.

I do not mean to justify our weaknesses, said Ladislav Adamec. I raise this issue because there is a tendency to forget the harmful influence of the imbalance on the implementation of all our decisions. Some comrades act as if we live in normal conditions and as if we have some hidden funds and resources to increase investments, salaries, subsidies, and other things. We have nothing of the kind and we must learn to conduct ourselves accordingly. It is impossible to give anyone anything for nothing. Moreover, we must want profit from each koruna. Society cannot foot the bill for anyone. Departments and enterprises must learn to earn money themselves for their own increased needs and greater demands. We can only give funds from the state budget to the most necessary and efficient programs of nationwide importance, programs which bring the state a demonstrable contribution. We do not have the resources for anything else. Whoever does not understand these fundamental truths and does not feel some responsibility for overcoming this grave situation cannot work in a responsible place.

Where do we see the main complication in preparing next year's plan? First and foremost, in the fact that the gravity of the situation, the amount of accumulated problems, and the necessity of not wasting time force us into dealing with many problems all at once. We cannot afford to leave one thing aside at the expense of something else. An important decision confronts us—how best to harmonize the necessity of increasing the national income—and thus find other such necessary resources—with the selection of an optimum rate of dynamism. We know that it is impossible to delay dealing with the imbalance as this would only increase the disproportion. Where is the starting point? Making guesses about global volume figures and dynamism will not help us much—we have become convinced of that many times. The substance of the matter lies in orienting ourselves toward supporting what will alleviate the imbalance, first and foremost, toward the domestic market which reduces the need for resources, leads to savings, establishes prospective production programs, and strengthens the economy's social orientation.

Along with this, we must have enough courage to suppress inefficient ventures which consume hard-gained social resources and which do not bring us anything. Even if this is—stressed the premier—at the cost of extraordinary measures.

We will probably not manage to change everything. However, we must not neglect the basic aspects of anything. First and foremost, in dealing with the domestic market's balance—both by strictly regulating the growth in the population's income and by increasing the production of consumer goods.

Nor will we permit unplanned growth in capital investment. We are not supporters of a freeze at any price but, if necessary, we will even use this instrument. It is not our policy to sit on foreign currency but we will give resources from the state budget only to those who will return them quickly and to those who can guarantee a great improvement. In no way can it be possible to reckon with further increasing our foreign indebtedness.

The government supports entrepreneurial initiative but, at the same time, it is firmly in favor of increasing working, technological, and supplier discipline. We are in favor of adhering to the fundamental principles of the law on the state enterprise. But we will not let go of the necessary levers for steering the national economy. It is impossible to respond to the complexity of the economic situation by slowing down or by even casting doubt on the economic reforms but, on the contrary, we must respond to this situation by thoroughly bringing these reforms to life.

A Key Element—Order in Financial Management

We consider a key element to be order in financial management. In production, and even in the social sphere, things are not in order. We attach paramount importance to harmony between the creation and the utilization of national income and between material resources and their expenditure. Here, the administrative system has weakened management and enterprise with the koruna. Meantime, we are learning too slowly that without a correct financial policy we will not make any progress. We are still continuing to hand out resources without knowing clearly enough what for. We are all in agreement that it is impossible to permit a deficit in the state budget or to allow inflationary development. However, not all claims fully suggest this. In the relationship between the federation and the republics, we are counting on the responsibility of the national governments for guaranteeing the needs of the republics. It is impossible to continue the practice of financing some things to the detriment of others and then requesting further resources from the federal government.

In a few days time it will have been only 1 year since the new federal government came into office. In a few weeks time we will render accounts from our work to the CSSR Federal Assembly and 6 months later our activity will involve discussing the 18th CPCZ Congress. This period comes as an opportunity to evaluate the results of our work, to weigh up all the positive experiences, and to work even better than up until now, stressed Ladislav Adamec in conclusion.

Session Discussion Reported

AU0510143389

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 3 October on pages 1 and 2 carries a 3,800-word CTK account of the discussion at the joint session of the federal and the two republics' governments in Prague on 2 October, which followed Premier Adamec's speech. The speakers are Bohumil Urban, first CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the Government Committee for Questions of Planned National Economic Management; Jaromir Zak, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission; Jan Stejskal, CSSR minister of finance; Frantisek Pitra, CSSR deputy premier and premier of the Czech Socialist Republic; Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee; and Pavol Hrivnak, CSSR deputy premier and premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

Bohumil Urban discusses, among other things, the results of economic restructuring. He mentions that a total of 2,246 state enterprises have been established so far, which have an average staff of 2,100. This shows, according to Urban, that "we have not succeeded in weakening in any significant way the monopoly status of enterprise, especially in engineering and in the building industry, even though it is known in the world that smaller enterprises tend to be more enterprising and more flexible. Among the positive features is the fact that, especially in light industry enterprises, we have managed to bring about a competitive environment, at least to a certain extent."

Urban goes on to say that the abolition of the intermediary tiers of management confronts the center, particularly the founders of state enterprises, with "much higher requirements" and deplores that "not all branch ministries are adequately prepared for such a concept of work."

Discussing the role of self-management bodies in the newly set up state enterprises, Urban criticizes the fact that "so far, they have been making insufficient use of their extensive powers; obviously, the circumstance is at work here that members of self-management bodies feel like subordinates of directors and lack the courage to come up with views of their own." He also warns the self-management bodies against pursuing "short-term goals" and against "giving preference to social considerations over support for entrepreneurship."

Speaking about the tasks of the center, Urban mentions that, following the 30-percent cut in the size of central agencies, no further staff reductions are planned and that "now it is necessary to stabilize the apparatus, to reinforce its expertise, and make full use of it." As for the tasks that remain to be tackled in restructuring the economic mechanism, Urban mentions the restructuring of the nonproduction sphere; the formulation of rules for the national committees' conduct of business; the drafting of a law on environmental protection; and making headway in reforming the mechanism of cooperation within CEMA. Work is reportedly under way also on the drafting of new financial and economic instruments for foreign trade, as well as on "the activation of the customs system, on the long-term program of cutting subsidies, on a decree on the fund of cultural and social needs, on a decree on the authorization of foreign trade activity, and on a system to prevent undesirable exports."

In conclusion, Urban stresses the need to seek "new and unconventional forms of management" and cites as an example small engineering and design offices operating on the basis of self- financing. According to Urban, the principles governing the activity of such offices will be drafted within the next 6 weeks and the first 10 to 15 of them should be set up within 6 months.

Jaromir Zak is said to have centered in his address on the preparation of the state plan for 1990, the first being worked out in the conditions of the new economic mechanism, and to have underlined the need to orientate the plan on "further growth of economic development while simultaneously strengthening overall economic balance."

Assessing the economic development this year, the deputy premier states that "despite certain positive features—a more favorable dynamism of national income, higher growth of personal consumption, better satisfaction of the demand for several kinds of industrial merchandise, a stabilized food market, increase of foreign currency income from foreign trade with nonsocialist states, and the edge of the growth rate of labor productivity in industry over the growth rate of industrial output—serious shortcomings in the economy continue." In this context, Zak refers to the "undemanding economic climate," which makes it possible to perpetuate the outdated structures of production and marketing. This, in turn, is said to result in "considerable assets in the socialist countries, extremely high inventory levels, ineffectiveness of the instruments of management used thus far in the sphere of capital construction, and a strained state budget." According to Zak, the state plan will therefore concentrate next year on the preferential development of processing branches and a stagnation of the basic raw-material branches of industry and the share of investments in the used national income will further decrease. As for external economic relations, Czechoslovakia will strive to "maintain its present foreign currency position in relations with nonsocialist countries and to implement a flexible and differentiated trade policy vis-a-vis socialist countries, aimed at minimizing the trade surplus."

Jan Stejskal, the federal minister of finance, deals with preparations for the 1990 state budget, saying that it will be aimed at "restoring and strengthening economic balance and suppressing inflationary tendencies." Stejskal says that a balanced state budget will require a higher generation of resources in the national economy. In this connection he criticizes enterprises' and ministries' approach to the drafting of next year's plan, saying that they "continue to underrate the possibilities for the generation of resources. They still do not count on tapping such hidden potentials as releasing excessive inventories and reducing the number of unfinished investment projects, reducing the level of insolvency, as well as material and overhead costs. At the same time, they count on the allocation of supplies according to their enterprise needs, make demands on central funds, and claim alleviations on their levies, subsidies, and so forth."

Speaking about monetary policy, Stejskal says that the Czechoslovak State Bank will enforce a "restrictive credit policy," keeping the growth rate of "internal credits in the economy" below the growth rate of national income. The limited availability of credits will affect "organizations whose income situation does not guarantee return on the invested capital."

Czech Premier Frantisek Pitra discusses the efforts of the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic to restore economic balance, particularly balance on the domestic market. In this connection he recommends that "the adoption of temporary measures to halt negative trends in supplies to the market be considered—such as the inclusion of the most sensitive types of merchandise among the designated tasks of the state plan, effective measures directed against the interests of monopoly manufacturers, and incentives for suppliers to increase their deliveries to the domestic market."

Pitra also discusses the priorities of the Czech Government in its investment and structural policy. He says that preference in investment policy must be given to ecological projects, the construction and modernization of the housing stock "including individual construction," the modernization of medical and spa facilities, as well as "essential investments in education." As for the production sphere, investment funds are to be channeled into branches based on domestic raw materials, into the modernization of the light and food industries, into the printing industry, and into those agricultural investments which tackle the problem of losses.

In another part of his speech, Pitra criticizes unspecified ministries for failing to properly discharge their "managerial and coordinating functions" as founders of state enterprises and for "assuming the role of disinterested observers."

Ivan Knotek praises the work carried out by federal and republican bodies in restructuring the economic mechanism. He describes as "particularly important" the "shaping of a single national economic center." Its task, he says, is to "strengthen the united Czechoslovak economy, while respecting the national republics' specific features." Knotek also emphasizes the need to "define the ties and spheres of competence of individual parts of the center and to clearly formulate their coordinating function."

Slovak Premier Pavol Hrivnak says that the changes in the system of national economic management must also find their reflection in "the further development and more effective use of the principles of the federative constitutional arrangement, especially as regards deepening and improving the effectiveness of cooperation and coordination between governments and individual central state agencies." He says, for example, that "one should ponder ways of increasing the participation of the Governments of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic in the sphere of international economic cooperation, in decisions on where to build capital investment projects, in decisions on which programs to develop and which to wind down, as well as in decisions on changes in the organization of the manufacturing-technological and scientific-research bases."

Speaking about the preparation of the 1990 plan in Slovakia, Hrivnak says that the "stabilization of the internal market is the key task" just like on national scale.

According to the CTK report, the discussion at the joint session of the Federal and Czech and Slovak Socialist Republic Governments was wound up by Federal Premier Adamec, who appreciated its "frankness" and the fact that it "produced a number of new ideas about the situation in the national economy, about the progress of work in restructuring the economic mechanism, and about the state of work on the state plan and the budget for next year."

Communique on 5 Oct Government Session

AU1010102989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 89 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Session of the CSSR Government"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—The CSSR Government met for a plenary meeting on Thursday [5 October]. It discussed a draft bill which changes and amends law No. 98 of 1987 on a special miners' benefit. In view of the exactingness of the miners' work and the social consequences arising from miners' layoffs or transfers to different jobs in connection with the winding down of coal extraction, the draft offers the miners a special benefit under more advantageous terms and permits their earlier retirement.

In the subsequent part of its meeting, the CSSR Government discussed the draft principles of bills which are to be submitted to the CSSR Federal Assembly. The deputies' possible suggestions for extra provisions or changes will be considered in drawing up the paragraph-by-paragraph wording of the government-sponsored draft bills.

The draft principles of the bill which changes and amends law No. 44 of 1974 in the wording of law No. 117 of 1983 specify the extent and execution of customs checks on commercial and noncommercial goods, simplify the formal procedures, introduce more rigorous sanctions for customs offenses, establish prerequisites for improving customs statistics, clarify the legal status of duty-free zones, and regulate in detail the relations and the standing under the labor law of members of the customs administration, including the requirements concerning their qualifications and state of health. The Government stressed the need to endow the customs authorities with such legal powers as to allow them to swiftly respond to the development of the situation on the domestic market when checking on the exports and imports of goods.

The draft principles of the bill on inventions, industrial prototypes, and innovations are aimed, above all, at establishing better conditions for technical creative activity and its assertion in society. Within the framework of a broad-based expert discussion on these draft principles, the Federal Office for Inventions and Discoveries received 3,521 comments and suggestions which were taken into consideration.

The draft principles of the bill on registers are being submitted because the existing legislation has become obsolete. The draft specifies the authorities' responsibilities and procedures in executing registration duties, reduces requirements for paperwork, and brings the execution of state administration closer to citizens. It sees to it that citizens be charged with as few duties as possible. The principle is being applied that the citizen's identity card is the chief proof of the data which are recorded in it.

The draft principles of the bill which changes and amends law No. 50 of 1976 on territorial planning and the building order react to the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism, accentuate society's interests during construction, particularly with respect to environmental protection, and simplify territorial planning procedures as well as the authorization of building projects. From the viewpoint of citizens, the draft facilitates individual construction activity in a principal way.

The draft principles of the bill which changes and amends law No. 29 of 1984 on the system of elementary and secondary education establish legal prerequisites for the functioning of elementary and secondary schools as of 1995, with special regard for the activity of secondary vocational schools. One of the major changes being proposed is the possibility of reducing the mandatory [10 year] school attendance for pupils who demonstrably lack the prerequisites for its completion.

The draft principles of the bill which changes and amends law No. 39 of 1980 on institutions of higher learning are aimed at deepening democracy at universities and colleges by way of the election of selected functionaries. The powers and the responsibility of these functionaries are being enhanced at the same time. The tasks and the mission of the scientific councils of universities and faculties are being formulated in a new way; the scientific councils are being provided with the possibility of partially organizing university studies. A system of aptitude tests should conform with the growing demands on university research assistants.

A CSSR Government decree on the financial economy of state enterprises and some socialist organizations enhances the legal powers and the responsibility of enterprises for the conduct of their financial affairs. A change of principle compared with the present situation is that the government decree eliminates the possibility of a decreed redistribution of resources at all levels of management. It provides enterprises with greater scope when it comes to decisions on the use of their resources and funds.

The draft rules for the regulation of the development of the economy, which the CSSR Government also approved, will secure harmony between the formation and implementation of economic plans at the enterprise level on the one hand and the aims, proportions, and tasks of the economic policy of the state, and the 5-year plan in particular, on the other. The rules seek an organic symbiosis between the plan and the market, between effective central management and a high degree of the economic organizations' independence. The draft also takes into consideration the need to react to imbalance in the economy and to the not always warranted differences in the income situation of branches and enterprises. It establishes prerequisites for both the long-term stability of the economic conditions under which business is conducted, as well as for the flexible use of instruments such as prices, exchange rates, credits, interest rates, subsidies, and so forth.

The creation of conditions for the transition of the Czechoslovak koruna to a single exchange rate and to convertibility is one of the basic aims of economic policy after 1990. The CSSR Government discussed and approved the concept of activity in this area. The transition will be carried out in stages, according to the ability to purposefully achieve the necessary prerequisites in the price, monetary, financial, foreign currency, and exchange rate policies, in the planning of external economic relations, and in the restructuring of the pricing and monetary mechanism within CEMA. This is a long-term task which will be impossible to fulfill without a marked increase in the performance and efficiency of the Czechoslovak economy.

A draft concept of telecommunications in the CSSR with special attention to the development of information-based technology and the materialization of new services for the public was submitted to the CSSR Government in June 1989 as a long-term program. At its meeting on Thursday, the government ordered it to be completed with measures of a short-term character and to be submitted to it again. The concept now envisages a considerable acceleration of the extension of the telephone network in the CSSR, particularly in the next 3 years in Prague and in Bratislava.

Furthermore, the CSSR Government acquainted itself with a report on the results of the fifth session of the Czechoslovak-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade, and Scientific and Technical Cooperation and with a report on the conclusions reached by state-appointed experts who had appraised the project of the "Crimea- Thermal House" spa institute in Marianske Lazne. The investor paid heed to the comments of experts and laymen and has opted for a more reasonable scale of the project, which is more in accord with local conditions [than the original project].

Cardinal Tomasek on Church Freedom, Perestroyka

LD1010104689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2045 GMT 9 Oct 89

[From the "Panorama" program; interview with Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, archbiship of Prague, by correspondents Gabor Besztercei and Jozsef Marton; date and place of interview not specified; Tomasek speaks in Czech with superimposed Hungarian translation; correspondents not individually identified—recorded]

[Excerpts] [announcer] The changes taking place in Eastern Europe are opening up new opportunities for the churches. We met Cardinal Casaroli in the Vatican last week in Panorama, but the thought emerged during the report that we should call on Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, archbishop of Prague. [passage omitted] For the first time in long years he has been willing to sit in front of the camera. Gabor Besztercei and Jozsef Marton visited him in Prague.

[Begin recording] [correspondent] [passage omitted] The 90-year-old Czechoslovak church leader at present is an active factor in the social changes here.

[Tomasek] We want complete freedom for the church. Without the church's freedom—thus, without complete independence for believers, there is no possibility for political freedom in the country. We still have to work hard for this freedom, so that the church finally may be independent.

[Correspondent] That is, the church's freedom and society's independence are intertwined. But how do you want to gain this greater freedom?

[Tomasek] Well, the authorities have to reckon with our presence - we, Czechoslovak Catholics—of whom they say, and the party members also are of this view, that we are in the majority. In our country, the Catholics, that is those who were christened, constitute 60-70 percent of the population. This is the majority of the nation.

[Correspondent] Who telephones whom more? Government members to you, or you to government members?

[tomasek] It is my duty to maintain contact. I must fulfil this obligation, but I do it rather in written form. I often write to government members; sometimes I hold talks with the heads of government or the party. Today, for example, I again held talks with the minister of culture. We debated issues which he still has to resolve—the authorities are making increasing concessions to the church. We trust that the relationship is improving. We trust this more than previously.

[Correspondent] Do you believe that perestroyka will assert itself in Czechoslovak society in the near future?

[Tomasek] That is a thing for which time is necessary in our country. A longer time is necessary here for development. Not everything goes at one blow. Yet if it is not possible immediately, we will progress in small steps. Patience is necessary. Things are moving slowly in our country.

[Correspondent] But why is this so in Czechoslovakia, where deep democratic traditions found roots between the world wars? Where, at one time, the economy was as, or nearly as, developed as in Austria? Why is it precisely this country in which it is not possible to speak about perestroyka?

[Tomasek] There are various reasons for this. During the past two decades, our country has changed. The mentality in our country has become different from that in the Soviet Union, for example.

[Correspondent] Yes, but what is the reason for this changed mentality?

[Tomasek] Let us speak, rather, about its being necessary to be patient. They say in our country that patience has become the nature of the Czechs. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The archbishop's palace in Prague is being renovated out of Vatican money. With the mediation of the Czechoslovak Church, the state and the Vatican last year agreed on normalizing relations, but when will this relationship be as it was in 1968?

[Second correspondent] In 1968 they wanted to achieve everything all at once. Then, they were not patient.

[Tomasek] Yes, at that time great opportunities opened up to us. Now, however, the internal situation does not make change possible. We are living through different times and we resort to other methods.

[Correspondent] Have they changed so much, in your view? Have the Czechs and the Slovaks become so passive during the past 21 years?

[Tomasek] Yes, that is so a bit. Not entirely, but a bit. We have to reckon with this. Only one who lives amid our circumstances knows this. But one who comes here as a guest cannot easily understand the difficulties of this process.

[Correspondent] But what can you do so that these people should, after all, be more active in both the church and society?

[Tomasek] It is necessary to talk with them. Of course, there is little possibility for this through the press. The state controls everything. We have to debate more, thus we have to exchange views with the people. When I hold talks with the members of government this is what I emphasize.

[Correspondent] And do you already see a next generation in the church, or even in society, which might go to the vanguard of democratization, perestroyka, and could initiate renewal?

[Tomasek] What do you mean by that?

[Correspondent] That there are young people in the church in whom you trust, in whom you believe, and who would continue and extend this cause? Do you find such people?

[Tomasek] Yes, yes, yes. Such people can be found, but many things must be recommenced—we have to speak again with one another. However, somewhat more time is necessary for this in our country than elsewhere. It does not proceed so quickly here as in many other countries. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Government To Promote Urban Renewal

AU0710215389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Oct 89 p 2

[Igor Sirota report: "On Repairs of the Housing Stock"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent)—Although more than Kcs15.6 billion will be spent on repairs and the maintenance of the communal housing stock in the current 5-year plan, no improvement of principle has occurred so far. This is why this issue will become one of the most fundamental ones in the next 5- year plan. As Pavel Plecity, director of the housing section at the Ministry of Interior and the Environment of the Czech Socialist Republic, told a news conference on Wednesday [4 October], after the Czech Socialist Republic Government session, repairs and maintenance of the housing stock valued at Kcs24.3 billion are to be carried out in the Ninth 5-Year Plan. [passage omitted]

Jiri Szanto, deputy minister of construction and the building industry of the Czech Socialist Republic, said that the share of large construction organizations in repairs will quadruple in the next 5-year plan. The government is working on necessary economic instruments in the form of alleviations from levies on wages or price markups to increase enterprises' incentives to carry out repairs. [passage omitted] Measures have also been proposed to provide incentives for the building squads of united agricultural cooperatives, national committees, and other organizations to engage in repairs of the housing stock.

Western Criticism of Police at Demos Rejected

'Slanderous Accusations' Countered

LD1010204489 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] The number of questions being asked by concerned GDR citizens about the slanderous accusations made by the West about the use of the People's Police during the past few days are increasing. For the sake of clarity, in order to set out the facts unambiguously, the ADN news agency received the following information from the Press Department of the Interior Ministry which we will now read in its entirety:

There were disturbances of public order and security in several cities in the GDR. The People's Police repeatedly asked the illegal riotous assemblies to disperse. When all these admonishments for avoidance of violence and for restraint produced no results, the use of the forces of law and order to restore peace and order was unavoidable. It is true, however, that hooligans, frenzied troublemakers and criminal elements shouted anti-state slogans and violently attacked members of the People's Police who were there to maintain order. They threw stones, bottles and incendiary devices and brutally and recklessly hit out at the forces of order with steel bars and other dangerous objects. It was no mere coincidence that many of the hooligans were wearing protective helmets; one must conclude that these were deliberate planned actions. In fact the People's Police acted with great restraint and only advanced against the troublemakers with police assistance after it had been attacked. It did not, as the Western media claims, strike blindly and recklessly at citizens who were not involved. It is also a fact that 106 members of the People's Police were injured, some of them seriously, while 46 hooligans were hurt.

Allegations of fatalities are complete fabrications by the Western media. It has been proved that Western correspondents not only made slanderous accusations against the People's Police, but were also among the organizers and instigators. It cannot be put down to coincidence that they were always on the scene just when hooligans gathered in riotous assemblies. These reporters gave the rabble-rousers support and specific directions on what to do. They themselves disturbed law and order. It was because of this massive interference that their freedom to work had to be restricted. Whatever the Western media may say against the German People's Police in the way of slander of the most odious kind, it will not prevent the latter from always steadfastly fulfilling the duty of protecting the citizens and serving the socialist state.

'Brainless Rabble-Rousers' Hit

LD1110104389 East Berlin Television Service in German 1725 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Commentary by Karl-Eduard Von Schnitzler in the "Black Channel" program—recorded]

[Text] Currently some 2,400 refugees are at the site of the embassy [of the FRG in the CSSR] including 600 children. [children shouting] Children and an empty perambulator. Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. The child from the empty perambulator standing at the Bonn embassy's fence in Prague is by no means in the so-called free West. Together with hundreds of other children it is inside Prague children's homes, left behind by its parents who are sending jolly postcards from Passau or Giessen to their relatives left behind and who do not even care about their children. Those faithful 17 million citizens of the GDR were concurrently celebrating their state's 40th aniversary. Even though those Western newspapers and government wiseacres spoke of the GDR being isolated, the GDR in fact burst with guests and festive functions. But those living beyond the Elbe and Werra rivers would have loved to see some of the guests staying away ostentatiously.

The U.S. President can look wherever he wants. He has enough regions and situations that he should take a concerned look at. But there is nothing for him to look at, talk about, or to manage in our state. Maybe that is why he always looks so pinched [verkniffen]. Mikhail Gorbachev, however, was quite relaxed. There were enough witnesses present, witnesses who have a love of truth, as well as false witnesses from that free Western world inside that nonexistent state which is on the brink of collapse.

Gorbachev was quite relaxed and happy then he arrived at Berlin Schoenefeld airport and when he drove through the capital whose citizens gave him and numerous well-known guests a warm reception wherever he appeared—at the Tribune of Honor when the NVA [National People's Army] marched past Karl Marx Allee in the GDR's capital before the leadership, the guests and the citizens of the capital. He criticized West German politicians' dislike of recognizing World War II's results during the festive ceremony, for not conceding the GDR and its people full sovereignty at last and at the same time for not stopping the demand of reorganizing Europe and its borders, involving the jeopardy of peace and understanding—it was at that point where the Soviet statesman used emphatic and strong words. However, Western media held back that part of his address, which is understandable, because they are so free over there. Nevertheless, those fond hopes harbored by politicians and journalists on the Rhine and Spree rivers faded increasingly.

It is not socialist reforms that are referred to when they [GDR demonstrators] shout 'freedom and reforms' with boring monotony and unimaginativeness. For the rest, the time of those dear brothers and sisters, of those poor relatives in the zone [GDR] seems to be over. Come and visit us, but please not too often. However, when they stand in front of the house with bags, some with suitcases, some even with a Trabant car down in the street, maybe they have little children with them—then the love of those poor relatives comes in most cases to an end. You don't want to stay here, do you? The question must be allowed—what those having left and those fugitives have left behind. It is social security, an apartment, a job, relatives, maybe the Wartburg car. But what counts more is that they forgot about moral principles, decency, often confirmed love of the fatherland, and character. On top of it, they have stolen the knowledge and the skills that they learned within socialism, that is school education, special knowledge, scientific abilities—all that was tought by the state and its citizens. They have misused our openness toward the world. Those who think they can go on misusing it and to not follow those persons of the same conviction and instead, want to kick up a row over here—they have no support by the masses. They are at variance with each other, they are brainless rabble-rousers. Their brains may be ignorant and hysterical—or their brains may be those brains in the capitalist West whose branch offices they would love to open over here.

So they think—being in a panic and attempting to stir up panic over here —that the GDR has no legitimacy. Well, we can of course not compete with the FRG in that context, for the FRG was formed upon orders by the allies as a separate allied state, with a 74-year old Adenauer as chancellor of the allies.

That was how Schumacher, the Social Democrat leader, called him. With Globke and other fascist criminals, the FRG was certainly incapable of coping with the problem of anti-fascism. Even today they have their problems with Ossietzky and Stauffenberg. When it comes to Ernst Thaelmann, they are only interested in his murderer being free. That is a 'certain level,' and it remains so. Let us better remain on our level. We have in mind the patriots of all times of German history. That is why we are Europeans like Russians and Frenchmen, Poles, Norwegians, Czechoslovaks, [word indistinct], Italians, Danes, Greeks, Hungarians, Monacans—sorry when I omit some of them. European history's great cultural achievements and personalities are part of the people of the state of the GDR as they are part of other European peoples. Plato is not exculsively a Greek philosopher, Christ is not only a Jewish prophet, German minstrel singers and troubadours cannot be divided from each other. Goethe and Shakespeare have the same European attitude of the mind. Romain Rolland and Lev Tolstoy are representatives of the same spirit of humanity. The Italian Palestrina and the German Bach, Raffael and Albrecht Duerer are national figures with internatinal impact and validity. Marx and Lenin, Maxim Gorkiy, and the Dane Martin Anderson Nexoe, Edison and Zeiss—all of them go together like Darwin and Hegel, like the Spaniard Ortega Y Gasset and the Alsatian Albert Schweitzer. They represent European spirits. Whoever honors and cherishes them, comes closer to them by a critical approach, whoever comes closer to history with all its contradictions ranging from Luther up to Muentzer, Friedrich II, Bismark, Saxony and Prussia—has a right to do so, as a German, as a German state, as a socialist German state which remains, and finally as a German core state. But all that is certainly a bit too much for some people on the Rhine. Whoever denies our state and its historic roots or escapes from it into the yesterday, leaving behind all of his civilization, may enjoy the modern title of being hero of the Western world. But that is not much help in their situation, standing before the doors of their brothers and sisters in the west, standing before labor and housing agencies. Most of them can hear: We ourselves have enough concerns. Well, that means basically many more and different concerns than those runaways and fugitives had at home. Those are experiences, bitter experiences for most of them.

So that is a true state of shelter, welfare, and guardianship—with growing neo-Nazism, with some people thinking that that frightening trend, which has entered the Ruhr area and Northrhine-Westphalia now, is in direct connection with that reduction of social services over years, with that systematic policy of the red pencil—cutting services for the poor, increasing them for the big corporations. That is a policy discriminating one-third of the society, that offers no opportunity of a humane life to hundreds of thousands, let alone freedom and self-realization.

Starting in 1945, those old structures were restored in that FRG—that was the reason why no New Germany emerged. There is much room for demagogic slogans, toward the inside and toward the outside. Now there is yelling, some are yelling because of the so-called republicans, some because of those who are running away from the German state that is considered a secure state with a promising future. It is those who were awaited in the remaining state [reststaat] of German history and its most unfortunate phases. Today's federal government is breaching treaties and agreements: Helsinki, CSCE, and the basic treaty, accords and solemn promises, which is contrary to those vociferous affirmations made by the Federal foreign minister and that demand to re-establish the 1937 borders is supposed to remove the GDR. One wants to have another GDR, with reforms and without socialism and without the power by workers and peasants. The answer given during the festive ceremony and given in the streets and squares was: That is what you would have loved to see, you squallers. But that will not happen. We will stick to socialism. We have always improved socialism, and we will go on improving it in the same way. No, thanks to your economy with human beings on the market [menschenmarktwirtschaft]. That is the answer, 40 years following the foundation of the GDR. Our fond hopes have been in the process of ripening for quite a long time. Concurrently with fading blossoms in the West, bitter experiences, continuing stupidity, and initial traces of understanding that must be gathered.

Ministry Rejects FRG Protests

LD1010201289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1922 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Foreign Ministry has decisively rejected protests from the chief editors of several FRG media, including the ARD and ZDF, against "obstructions" of their correspondents in the past days by organs of the GDR. The management of these media was made aware of the fact that their correspondents were in areas of police operations without permission. They did not obey repeated demands from the people's police to stop their work. In several cases these journalists even took action as co-initiators of fights and clashes and participated in the incitement of groups of rowdies.

The behavior of these correspondents constitutes a direct intervention in the internal affairs of the GDR. It contradicts the spirit and the letter of the CSCE Final Act, violates the legal order of the GDR and conflicts with the norms of objective journalistic activity.

In contrast to this is the work of the majority of the approximately 800 foreign correspondents from 50 countries who were accredited at the GDR 40 Press Center and who made intensive use of the generous work opportunities offered to them in the capital for their journalistic activity.

Yesterday the GDR Foreign Ministry decisively rejected a similar protest of the FRG Permanent Mission in the GDR.

Dresden Council Leaders Talk With Protestors

LD0910112689 Hamburg DPA in German
1042 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Twenty participants in the demonstration yesterday in Dresden today discussed their demand for reforms with representatives from the Dresden city council. A coworker in the Dresden office of the evangelical bishop stated to the [West] Berlin private radio station Hundert 6 that they were accompanied by regional Bishop Johannes Hempel and Superintendent Ziemer. The talks had been arranged the night before after a sit-in of about 10,000 to 15,000 demonstrators in front of the main station. The results of the consultations will be announced this evening in four evangelical churches in Dresden, the church worker stated.

Citizens Council To Meet

LD1010140289 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] GDR citizens wanting to bring about reforms, and the Dresden City Council have agreed to continue their talks about an improvement of the situation in the GDR next Monday [16 October]. It was learned in Dresden today that the main topic will be demonstrators who are still under arrest. Other topics are said to be freedom of travel and the possibility of pressure groups and reform groups to air their views in the GDR media.

'New Forum' Leader Opposes End to Protests

LD1110130589 Hamburg DPA in German
1147 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The cofounder of the GDR opposition group "New Forum," Rolf Henrich, has spoken out against the ending of demonstrations by GDR citizens who want reforms. Only when the dialogue which they seek is being plausibly conducted by those in government, can "the protests" be "immediately taken off the street," Henrich said today on Saarland radio.

The first contacts between local politicians and citizens desirous of reform in Leipzig and Dresden are he said, a "positive sign, even if only in a very modest framework." "Every last chance for dialogue" should now be exploited. According to Henrich, the "New Forum" has found "more than 10,000 comrades-in-arms" since it was fouded 4 weeks ago in the GDR.

An edited version of the interview was released to DPA.

'Forum' 'Not Hostile to State'

AU1110101589 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
11 Oct 89 p 4

[Hans-R. Karutz report: "New Forum No Longer Hostile to the State"]

[Text] Since Monday [9 October] an internal order has been circulating in the SED to the effect that the reform group "New Forum" is no longer to be called "hostile to the state" or "hostile to the Constitution." In discussions with the population it is to be described as "politically dispensable," but no longer to be practically criminalized with the term which the GDR Interior Ministry had used. So far 13,712 sympathizers have signed the appeal "Start 89" of the association, which was founded by East Berlin painter Baerbel Bohley. In several cases, disciplinary procedures have been started against workers who collected signatures in enterprises. They were threatened with being fired.

These details were given to DIE WELT in a telephone conversation with Katrin Bohley, student and niece of "New Forum" initiator Baerbel Bohley, yesterday. On the situation after the positive end of the demonstration of 70,000 people in Leipzig, she said: "This morning we were enormously relieved. All of Monday we only had bad news from Leipzig: Tanks are in the city, barbed wire is rolled out everywhere. We were trembling." "New Forum" is extremely satisfied "that things proceeded without violence."

Concerning the appeal of the GDR churches not to take to the streets anymore and concerning Rainer Eppelmann's request for a 2-week "pause for thought" for the opposition, Katrin Bohley said: "This is a problem, because these actions are spontaneous and can hardly be prevented. The only thing we can do is urgently call on the people not to use any violence."

Concerning the success of "New Forum"—which was founded only 4 weeks ago—Katrin Bohley said: "It seems as if we have already contributed to dialogue." It is important that people gather everywhere to draw up resolutions and write appeals to the state power, she stated.

'New Forum' Continues as 'Citizens' Initiative'

AU0510130289 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 2 Oct 89 pp 25-26

[Telephone interview with Baerbel Bohley, member of the GDR's "New Forum" opposition group by Iris Nustede: "Our Numbers Are Growing"; date and place not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mrs Bohley, the Interior Ministry has declared the "New Forum," of which you are one of the founders, illegal; you have been threatened with administrative fines if you continue your activities. What is going to happen now?

Bohley: We have decided to continue our work as a political citizens' initiative.

DER SPIEGEL: Does such an initiative also have to be permitted by the authorities?

Bohley: This is a space free of laws in the GDR, there are no laws for this. That is why we have decided to do this. The king is dead, long live the king. That is how it is.

DER SPIEGEL: The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] could react as harshly to the citizens' initiative as it did to the New Forum as an association. Do you fear that it will do so?

Bohley: There are signs of a harsh reaction. The authorities told some of us: Cease all activities. On the other hand, the pressure by our people is great. So far no one has said: I want my signature to be removed from the paper. On the contrary. Everyone feels that social interest is there and that at some time in the future we will again apply for registration as an association.

DER SPIEGEL: What shape will the work of the political citizens' initiative take?

Bohley: We want—as we intended to do as an association—to open a dialogue between the citizens at all social levels. We intend to establish 13 forums, which cover certain subjects or fields of problems: an economic forum, for instance, a cultural forum, a forum for senior citizens, a legal forum, and a trade union forum.

DER SPIEGEL: Why 13?

Bohley: In the discussion we agreed on 13 forums, but maybe there will be more. There are interest groups, which exist, continually emerge, and broach problems. In a legal forum the election law is also to be discussed.

DER SPIEGEL: What else do you have planned for work in the forums?

Bohley: First of all, we want to work out concepts. We think that in the near future many things will change in the GDR, that there will be new starts, and that as many people as possible should be there who have alternative concepts. We want to bring those together who are now dispersed all over the GDR and thus promote discussions among competent people.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you also hope that this tackling of specific issues will attract more people?

Bohley: With the first appeal we tried to bring out the people and make them say: We want to stay. Many people said yes to this. Of course, this cannot be the only thing. Since we are interested in making us, the GDR citizens, responsible citizens, we think that we need a structure which can be entered from below.

DER SPIEGEL: Does this not give rise to the danger that your initiative will become a discussion club for everyone, which attracts many people who want to get rid of their daily frustration somewhere?

Bohley: I think that we have to accept this as a side effect. The people must regain a bit of courage.

DER SPIEGEL: You do not think of a firm organization with a program?

Bohley: This will develop, but it is not our goal in the beginning. Personally, I would say: If society changed, if matters were discussed in public, if there were the possibility to gather and to publish without being considered a criminal, the purpose of our initiative would be fulfilled. It could then dissolve into parties, into associations, into societies. We are starting from the very bottom.

DER SPIEGEL: In the GDR there are also efforts to found parties in view of the next People's Chamber elections, a social democratic party for instance.

Bohley: In the New Forum there are representatives of the initiative to form a social democratic party and also many priests who have established peace circles. Their autonomy is to be preserved. We want to remain pluralistic because we all are suffering under this uniform opinion, which actually has been determining our lives but which we can no longer endure. But if there are some people who say that we need a party, I think this is okay. At present no other organization, in particular not a state organization, would manage to attract 6,000 people in less than 3 weeks.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you expect more signatures?

Bohley: It is continuing, but we not yet have sufficient information. We have grown up without democracy, we actually do not know the playground of democracy. On the one hand, we do not want to be patronized by the state, on the other, we do not know what democracy is really like. This is why some people then call for a program. We have to be patient. I think that, in the end, this will prove to be constructive.

DER SPIEGEL: In Leipzig you said that it is not the goal of the movement to introduce capitalism but to have "a different socialism than the one practiced in the GDR." What does this mean?

Bohley: First of all, I have to say that I was quoted by someone who was not present. In Leipzig, we agreed that the GDR should not follow the capitalist path. But the term socialism is interpreted very differently by 6,000 people. The socialist ideals, with which we grew up, are very important to us. But after 40 years of experiencing the GDR, one can hardly use the term socialism. If one wants to be credible despite this, one has to discuss what the socialism that we want should be like.

DER SPIEGEL: Could countries like Poland or Hungary be a model?

Bohley: This is a problem. I cannot travel, I cannot go and see for myself. I see the development only through television. But we think that in Hungary the workers class—unfortunately—does not have a lobby, at least it does not appear to have a strong lobby, while in Poland the matter is completely different. Therefore, Poland is more interesting for us than Hungary. However, if one intended to simply take over the Polish method in the GDR, this might give rise to the question: Why should we have two German states at all? I think that, first of all, we have to try to make the reality of the GDR, which has existed for 40 years, ours. Therefore, these empty phrases about reunification that come from the West are terribly caustic, I must say.

DER SPIEGEL: In a radio interview you said that reunification is not a topic for the New Forum. However, reunification has become a topic all over the world because of the flight of tens of thousands of GDR citizens to the West—only for you, for the New Forum, it is not a topic?

Bohley: The topic is the recognition of the realities: There are two German states. Mr Dregger sees this as well as Mr Kohl or the Social Democratic Party of Germany, because they have long had negotiations with the GDR Government. This is not the point. These realities must, first of all, be firmly set down, before one can talk about changing them. Among the GDR population it is completely undecided how many people think of reunification. I have friends who are not interested in reunification. We want the situation in the GDR to change: a permeable border—yes; freedom to travel—yes; but reunification—no.

DER SPIEGEL: Thus, reunification is not being discussed in the GDR?

Bohley: There is a debate about the recognition of the GDR citizenship by the FRG. Many people do not want this. I belong to those who say: yes, but, at the same time, an open, free right to asylum in the FRG. Those, who cannot cope with real existing socialism, so to speak, should be accepted by you in a friendly way.

DER SPIEGEL: You have certainly many opponents in the GDR because of this opinion....

Bohley: ...Those I have, yes. However, the wave of refugees has nothing to do with the recognition of the GDR citizenship. Perhaps, as many people would leave even if the GDR citizenship were recognized by the FRG. They would then simply apply for political asylum in your country, and the FRG would have to check who is a political refugee and who is not. The current wave of refugees really includes some people who are co-responsible for the entire mess here, who have been in leading positions for 20 years, kicked others, and then suddenly arrive in the West and write big books and articles for newspapers.

DER SPIEGEL: If the FRG were able to recognize the GDR citizenship—according to the Basic Law it cannot do so—the situation would become much more difficult for GDR refugees.

Bohley: What does that mean, the FRG cannot—if, for instance, freedom of travel and free choice of residence were possible on the GDR side. Then someone could live in the FRG as a GDR citizen for 2 years and he could also come back again.

DER SPIEGEL: On 7 October, Gorbachev will come to East Berlin. What are your expectations?

Bohley: Our expectations are rather low. We have more or less given up expecting something from scenes of fraternization in the East or in the West.

DER SPIEGEL: However, there are many people in the GDR—writers, for instance—who place great hopes on Gorbachev and his policy.

Bohley: Even though there are a great number of people who count on Gorbachev, they also know that they themselves have to start reforms. Actually, no one is really interested in what Mr Stephan Hermlin says on television. It is completely clear: He is co-responsible for socialism being as it is now, otherwise he would have called for reforms 2 years ago.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you not see any alliance partners in the SED for the reforms you are striving for?

Bohley: There are people in the SED who are also interested in reforms, but they are not visible among the SED leadership.

DER SPIEGEL: Despite the threat of the GDR Interior Ministry, 6,000 signatures have been collected for the New Forum. Are the GDR citizens no longer afraid of the authorities?

Bohley: No, the people are no longer afraid.

SPIEGEL: Not of reprisals, either?

Bohley: It is difficult to make accusations against 6,000 people. In the past, when we were only 30, it was easier to accuse us of being enemies of the state. In the GDR the number of people is increasing who say that things cannot and must not continue as they are.

DER SPIEGEL: During his visit to Stuttgart, Hans Modrow, first secretary of the Dresden Bezirk SED leadership, at least hinted at a readiness for reforms....

Bohley: If he were really interested in reforms I would have been working with him for some time now.

Member Seeks to 'Root Out Fear'

PM0910110089 Paris LE FIGARO in French
5 Oct 89 p 6

[Interview with Jens Reich, member of East German "New Forum" Movement, by Irina de Chikoff—date and place not given]

[Text] LE FIGARO: What prompted you to join in the formation of "New Forum," a movement which the GDR Government regards as "hostile" to the state?

Jens Reich: So far, I have not been very active. But it is now impossible to remain silent. The malaise in East Germany was not caused by the exodus which has taken more than 60,000 people to the West since the start of the year. People have been emigrating for more than 20 years.

Our first friends left in the seventies. Perhaps we turned a blind eye.

We were unable or unwilling to look this slow hemorrhage in the face. We did our work and lived in our shells with our jokes. Above all we had irony: We have always taken refuge in jokes.

But, this summer, all the young people leaving said that they do not want to live like us, that they no longer accept double-talk. All those young people are rejecting things and turning away.

How can we remain silent?

LE FIGARO: Have you never thought of leaving yourself?

Jens Reich: We could have left before 1961. We did not do so. After that, there were all kinds of confrontations on the border between the two Germanies. In the GDR, every movement which tried to establish a structure was immediately repressed.

Rooting Out Fear

In this country, people have lived with fear.

We often talk about angst. This refers to vague anxieties. There is the fear that the children will not be able to study, the fear of not obtaining an apartment, the fear of....

My commitment today is essentially motivated by the desire to root out this fear. In the final analysis, politics does not even interest me. I would like the angst to end once and for all.

LE FIGARO: In the other Eastern bloc countries, fear has always existed too, and yet an opposition has been able to take shape, as it has in Poland where reformism is gaining ground, and in Hungary. Why has the opposition in the GDR never succeeded in organizing itself?

Jens Reich: We should perhaps think about the socialist tradition, which has existed for a long time in Germany, a mentality which recognizes the state's authority, the Germans' resignation, and the intellectuals in this country who did not abandon Marxism when the rest of the European intelligentsia abandoned it.

All the movements which could crudely be termed "opposition" are left-wing. Many of these groups have a fringe or anarchist side and the silent majority does not identify with them. There was no consensus.

How Can the Hemorrhage Be Stopped?

LE FIGARO: Is "New Forum" not also an intellectual group?

Jens Reich: For the time being, "New Forum" is just a project. But, when the interior ministry refused us permission to form an association, thousands of people came to give us their support: These people, who come from all sections of society, want some change in the country and want a democratic debate to be established.

LE FIGARO: Are you not afraid of a witch-hunt after the celebrations to mark the GDR's 40th anniversary?

Jens Reich: The risk exists and fear always slips back in. But repression would merely delay a process which has started.

Even within the party there are men who think that the time is right. They are aware that the GDR has missed the train of modernization.

This is true of the party, it is also true of many dissidents and intellectuals, and it is also true of our economy. Everybody knows. Everybody wants to make up for lost time. But how? How can we keep those who are leaving? How can we persuade them to stay? New refugees are flooding into the FRG's embassies every day. The hemorrhage continues.

LE FIGARO: Are you not afraid that, despite the existence of men of goodwill, the GDR may remain locked in its system?

Jens Reich: It is difficult to imagine that in Eastern Europe, where everything is changing, the GDR could remain an unchanging island.

It is difficult to imagine that walls could be erected around all our borders, not just our border with the West, but also with the "fraternal countries." It is difficult to imagine that in the future it could be as difficult to go to Moscow as to the West....

LE FIGARO: What does "New Forum" plan to do in practical terms?

Jens Reich: We are going to continue our action to obtain the legal right to existence. In view of the fact that the GDR states that it is a state based on law, we take its authorities at their word. We are busy studying the legal problem. The interior ministry's refusal may have no basis. Our aim is to create this association to establish a democratic dialogue between society and the government.

LE FIGARO: Are there attempts at coordination in dissident circles?

Jens Reich: Personally, I am in favor of solidarity among the different movements.

But, I think it is preferable for each to draw up a program without trying to unite. All these groups would find it too difficult to find a consensus.

LE FIGARO: What do you think of the idea of reunification between the two Germanies?

Jens Reich: This question is not clear. I feel German. When I see the Rhine valley or the Bavarian Alps, I am naturally moved. Culturally, I feel a sense of belonging. But German identity is not synonymous with a Greater Germany.

For centuries, several Germanies coexisted. There is no historical argument against the existence of a small Germany, but there is no historical logic in wanting to recreate a Greater Germany.

LE FIGARO: What do you say to the people who have given their support to "New Forum," who see the flow of refugees continuing, and who are asking you what should be done?

Jens Reich: I say to them that we must be patient.

Call for 'Constructive Course'

LD0710104889 Hamburg DPA in German 1014 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The citizens' initiative, "New Forum," has called on the more than 2 million members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] to put "the entire party onto a constructive course." In an "appeal to all SED members" on the occasion of the GDR's 40th anniversary, the "Forum" also mentions numerous critical resolutions from the party's basic organizations to the SED Central Committee.

In the appeal for 7 October, the question is posed as to the consequences arising from those proposals which support reforms, and the variety of opinions in the state controlled media. "Are they discussed? Are they put into practice?" If internal discussion and cooperation is refused to the leading party itself with 2 million members in a socialist society, then painful and unbearable tensions must arise. The debate, which the SED itself must hold, is an important part of the comprehensive social debate our country needs."

The initiators of the "Forum," which 10,000 GDR citizens—including many SED members—support by signature or working for it, again protest "against attempts by the government to present us as enemies of socialism." The citizens' initiative is "a place for new thinking." This is just as much hostile to socialism in the GDR as in the Soviet Union. The appeal goes on to say: "Citizens' initiatives do not threaten but develop public life. Rather the SED's inaction is endangering socialism on German soil."

Member 'Optimistic' About Future

AU1010131789 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 10 Oct 89 p 2

[Interview with Sebastian Pflugbeil, of the GDR opposition group "New Forum," by DIE PRESSE staffer Dieter Staecker: "We Have No Other Choice Than To Be Optimistic"—date and place not given]

[Text] DIE PRESSE: Will the anniversary celebrations in your country now be followed by repression?

Pflugbeil: There are many people who fear that it will. However, I am not so sure. There are many signs that the objectives of the "New Forum" have long been established as common property within the population. The state would certainly find it difficult to apply means of repression.

DIE PRESSE: In Leipzig one could hear that the GDR workers militia would defend socialism even with weapons in hand if necessary. To you feel threatened?

Pflugbeil: No, I do not. After all, we do not challenge the achievements of socialism—at least not the real achievements. Together with all forces of society we want to determine what the real achievements are and what bad developments.

DIE PRESSE: Are you not afraid that the elderly gentlemen of the Politburo will not at all be impressed by all this and continue their work as before?

Pflugbeil: This is what the situation looks like right now. However, I think that it is only a matter of a few weeks that things will begin to change here. The entire population and large segments of the party now publicly want to discuss the future course.

DIE PRESSE: Do you not fear that you and other leading members of the Forum will soon be muted as so-called ringleaders?

Pflugbeil: I simply hope that this will not be necessary. We do not feel that we are ringleaders. For example, last Friday we had a discussion between young people and many members of the GDR state apparatus in a full church in Schwerin.

DIE PRESSE: Gorbachev has urged Honecker to finally admit reform in the GDR. Will the pressure exerted by Moscow be successful?

Pflugbeil: I would not describe this as pressure. We have always been surprised at how critical our government assesses the developments in the USSR. This is why we do not know how seriously the GDR leadership takes Gorbachev's statements.

DIE PRESSE: Thus you look at the future with optimism?

Pflugbeil: We have no other choice but to be optimistic. Right now our fear is rather great. We are afraid of the state apparatus, because we do not know exactly what will happen next.

Unnamed SED Leader Outlines Need for 'Action'

AU1010172589 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 8 Oct 89 p 2

["ws." report: "What Do the Reformers of the SED Want? A Report on the Situation From the Leadership of the Party"]

[Text] Hamburg—Is there internal opposition within the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]? It is difficult to notice from outside. And yet, reforming forces have emerged. A talk with a leading man from the circle of reformers in the SED leadership was the basis for the following description of the situation. Our informer guarantees the authenticity of this report. WELT AM SONNTAG publishes the protocol of the talk with the annotation that, due to the nature of the subject, it was impossible for the editors to verify its content.

Report by [name replaced by three asterisks]

From the reformer's point of view, action has to be taken because of

1. the massively growing dissatisfaction in all segments of the population. According to the assessment of the reformers the explosion may be sparked off any day;

2. the concern of the Soviet leadership regarding the untenable conditions in the GDR;

3. the concern regarding possible panic actions by the elderly gentlemen of the Politburo;

4. the efforts by the orthodox forces to establish a power cartel between the GDR, Romania, CSSR, China, and the conservative forces in the Soviet party and army leadership. Hermann Axen is the main activist in this context.

5. the sincere, yet, at the same time, dangerous activities of the opposition groups—completely inexperienced in dealing with power and solely aimed at instability. Whereas what is required are programmatic actions.

6. The National People's Army, riot police, and parts of the state security forces are ready for action only up to a point, because they lack the necessary motivation. The young men of the state security service and the riot police, who are directly confronted with demonstrators, fear that, if things escalate even more, they will be the first ones to be hanged at lamp posts. Corresponding pictures of the 1956 uprising in Hungary are being circulated within these units. The officials of the state security service, who deal with collecting information, are only too familiar with the desperate situation as to fool themselves any longer. Both groups are interested in changes, although for different reasons.

7. Early People's Chamber elections will take place at the beginning of 1990, which are bound to end in disaster if the current situation does not change.

Strategy

The original plan of the reformers was to prepare everything necessary to depose Honecker at the next party congress. Now this is no longer possible, and thus a stable majority has to be created to vote Honecker out (resignation for reasons of poor health) at one of the next meetings of the Central Committee. It was part of the necessary psychological preparation not to make any decisions concerning the refugee question until Honecker returned from the hospital (in this issue the interests of the reformers and the old gentlemen are identical), because it was only possible to make a wrong decision in this question. Honecker made exactly this "wrong" decision, and thus further weakened his position.

In order to gain a sufficient majority of votes in the Central Committee, one must win the support of as many bezirk secretaries as possible, for, after all, it is they, together with the members of the Central Committee, who decide on the results of an election. Honecker unwittingly provided the model for such a course of action when Ulbricht was deposed, when, with the help of bezirk secretaries Tisch (Rostock), Sindermann (Halle), Krolikowski (Dresden), and Naumann (Berlin), he managed to gain the necessary majority. All four of them received their sinecures for themselves and their family clans, and were given more power (Naumann, for example, temporarily held two Central Committee secretarial posts; not the intelligent deputy chairwoman Johanna Toepfer, but ingenuous Harry Tisch became chairman of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB]; Krolikowski was appointed Central Committee secretary for economic questions for a short time).

Now the assignment of offices, in other words the distribution of power, also plays a significant role, and this struggle for power weakens and might even frustrate the process.

The following bezirk leaders are considered firm supporters of Honecker: Gerhard Mueller (Politburo candidate member) of Erfurt; Ziegenhahn of Gera; and Hans Albrecht of Suhl.

The following are regarded as reformers: Schabowski of Berlin; Modrow of Dresden; Schumann of Leipzig; Eberlein of Magdeburg; Boehme of Halle; and Walde of Cottbus.

It is assumed that, in the course of developments, the others will join the ranks of the reformers. However, for the time being they take a wait-and-see attitude. The role of the bezirk secretaries is of great importance also because they control the workers' militia. In this context the most significant role must be attributed to the Berlin bezirk party leadership.

Since a fundamental replacement of the Politburo members cannot be attained rapidly and is neither useful for reasons of maintaining appearances, only Mielke, Mittag, Krenz, Hager, Axen, Tisch, and Krolikowski should be voted out of the clique of elderly gentlemen in a first step.

At the same time, there are not enough able people in the Central Committee who might fill the vacant seats, and thus new elections to the party apparatus have to scheduled at the earliest date possible.

The reformers expect a faster and more immediate effect by new appointments in the state apparatus, which can be implemented without any formal problems.

Program

—Withdrawal of the SED from state functions. The "leading role of the party" is no longer seen from an institutional point of view, which means that it is no longer guaranteed by the achievements of the party but rather of the individual party members at their work place. In the future, the individual comrade will no longer wait for instructions but make independent decisions.

—Separation of and mutual control by parliament, state apparatus, and legal authorities.

—Establishing an administrative court.

—No legalization of oppositional groupings, but activating and encouraging the four other existing parties to pursue their independent policies and no longer fulfill the role of those who execute the orders of the SED ("five-party-coalition").

—Reorganizing the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] into a group that really represents the interests of workers and employees. Worker participation and the right to strike will be guaranteed.

—All media are largely responsible for their own work and should become platforms for the expression of conflicting opinions; they are only answerable to the government spokesman (an office that must be created immediately).

—Abolishing all laws and regulations that suppress the freedom of opinion (slander against the state, and so on).

—Complete elimination of the paragraph that contains the crime of fleeing the republic, and calling on all former GDR citizens to return (with impunity) and participate in the democratic process.

—Economic reform must be carried out very carefully and must by no means be rushed in order to avoid conditions, as for example in Poland. As a first step, more independence is to be given to managers of enterprises concerning questions of production and sales to gain more flexibility. Currently there exists no suitable study on a reform of the entire national economy. Terms such as market economy and similar slogans should not be part of the discussion for the time being. There is no search for a capitalist model like the one that is currently implemented in Hungary.

—The problem of free travel is a problem of acquiring the necessary foreign currency (hope for negotiations with the FRG Government).

—Radical reduction of the security apparatus.

The structure of the GDR provides much room for democratic possibilities which have only served as trimmings so far, but which could be filled with life.

The formation of those SED forces that are willing to reform is supported by officers of the state security and in agreement with circles of the Soviet intelligence service. Egon Krenz, Central Committee secretary for security questions, no longer has any power, because the apparatus of state security has been particularly undermined by reform-minded forces.

Hager Calls for 'Necessary Changes'

*LD1110134389 Hamburg DPA in German
1317 GMT 11 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] chief ideologue Kurt Hager has come out in favor of changes in the GDR. In an interview with a correspondent of the Soviet weekly MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, Hager said that the task of the immediate future is "a specific strategy for the implementation of necessary changes."

The interview was held immediately after the meeting between Soviet state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev and GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker on Saturday, and was reported on Wednesday by "Radio GDR."

Hager stressed that change pressuposes first of all more active involvement by people in resolving socially important problems and improving information policy in the GDR.

Hager, who is responsible for ideological issues within the SED, spoke indirectly about the emigration movement. He said that, in order to normalize the situation, first of all the obstacles which apparently prevent particularly young people from fully exercising their abilities must be removed.

Theater Group Demands Social Dialogue

LD0810152189 Hamburg DPA in German
1437 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—It was learned today that during the interval of a performance of Ulrich Plenzdorf's "The Time of the Wolves" in the East Berlin Volksbuehne Theater, members of the ensemble distributed in the foyer a "Declaration of Intent" which calls for a democratic dialogue between all social forces in the GDR. The pamphlet also demands that popular groups organized along fundamentally democratic lines should not be criminalized; wrongs should be discussed openly; and there should be a "comprehensive analysis" of the current situation. It was also learned that contacts with other East Berlin theaters on this subject have been established.

"The Time of the Wolves," based on Chingiz Aytmatov's novel "The Block" was premiered at the Volksbuehne 29 September. At the first night the following graffiti appeared in the foyer: "We are put under presure by ice masses which are moving toward us in a threatening manner." The play includes the phrases: "Not those who seek to do something, even at risk, must be punished but those who do not, although they could. If only such people could meet with their deserts!" There was applause during the first night's performance following these two phrases.

Denies Security Intervention

LD1010212689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1935 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Director Dr Fritz Roedel and the actress Marion van de Kamp for the trade union group Theater at the Volksbuehne Berlin conveyed the following statement to ADN on Tuesday.

"As the hosts of the meeting of theater workers of the capital on the GDR's 40th anniversary on 7 October 1989 in the Volksbuehne we state: The participants in this meeting came to an understanding on their demands and proposals on acute social problems in our country. It was decided to hold a subsequent meeting. The meeting was concluded at 1430 with the agreement of all participants.

The assertion from an 'eyewitness' from RIAS, which was broadcast several times by the station on 8 October that a letter to Erich Honecker was agreed on and that the assembly was broken up by the security organs is pure invention. We reject this intervention in our affairs decisively."

Would-be Emigrants Barred From U.S. Embassy

LD0710092289 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] The U.S. Embassy in Berlin will not admit any citizens who want to use it as a means of emigrating from the GDR illegally. The State Department in Washington announced yesterday that these people would be refused entry.

Emigration Permits Quickly Granted in Dresden

LD0710151489 Hamburg DPA in German
1421 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Excerpt] East Berlin/Dresden (DPA)—Several young people were arrested last night during violent clashes in the center of Dresden. There were also some injuries. Today churchmen issued a strong call for non-violence and calm. Superintendent Christof Ziemer stated: "Violence destroys everything." Long-term solutions in the country are made more difficult by violent actions. Ziemer and Dresden pastors stressed their conviction that all concerned, demonstrators and state bodies, should "keep a cool head."

Late last night and early this morning, many hundreds of people aired their discontent at conditions in the country. The police were energetic in their use of rubber truncheons, according to eyewitness reports. The station [not further specified] was sealed off. Apparently in order to stem the discontent and protests in Dresden and other ares, the authorities have now granted many emigration permits at short notice. All sources agreed that "at the moment many are receiving permission to emigrate by return of post." [passage omitted]

Former SED functionary, Rolf Henrich co-founder of the citizens' initiative "New Forum," strongly condemned appeals by GDR militant groups to proceed against "counterrevolutionary" actions with "gun in hand." Henrich told the newspaper TAZ that such publications are a "clear call to use violence." [passage omitted]

Berlin Travel, Visitation Restrictions Lifted

LD0910153189 Hamburg DPA in German
1452 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—Travel and visiting between East and West Berlin have returned to normal. According to a spokesman of the West Berlin Senate on Monday, since early this afternoon no more visitors are being turned back at the sector crossing points. On Monday morning there had still been 180 travellers who had been turned away by the GDR frontier authorities. [passage omitted]

Visas for Hungary Boost Flow of Refugees

AU1010091689 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 10 Oct 89 p 4

["Kal./gtz./lz" report: "The GDR Continues to Issue Visas for Hungary"]

[Text] Bonn/Munich—In its contacts with East Berlin the FRG Government continues to try to achieve pragmatic and humanitarian solutions for the GDR refugees, who have sought refuge in the German embassies in Warsaw and Prague. In the Polish capital about 400 resettlers are under the care of Bonn's Embassy; in Prague there are about 30 refugees in Lobkowicz Palace. The number of the GDR citizens, who are fleeing to the West via Hungary, has increased again; according to information of the Munich Federal Border Police, a total of 649 refugees arrived in Bavaria by yesterday morning.

Up to 250 GDR refugees, who have come via Hungary, arrive in the Schoeppingen housing complex for resettlers every day. According to Friedhelm Kretschmann, head of the complex, these refugees are mainly people who were still in Hungary, mostly on vacations. Estimates say that 20,000 GDR citizens are still in Hungary.

Bonn's Chancellery is surprised about the high number of GDR refugees who come via Hungary. Most of them come with a valid visa to Budapest and then go to the FRG from there. In this connection, it is pointed out that last year about 1.5 million GDR citizens went to Hungary.

Yesterday, a spokesman of the Federal Border Police said: "We are surprised about the high number of people who come by car." Some refugees said that they had applied for the visa to Hungary only a short time before. According to this information, a visa to Hungary also includes the transfer through the CSSR without any problems.

Apartments of Refugees Passed to Others

AU1010094089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Oct 89 p 8

[ADN report: "Apartments of Former GDR Citizens Quickly Reallocated"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—GDR citizens ask what happens with the free apartments whose former tenants left the GDR illegally. Occasionally the rumor is spread that such appartments are kept unoccupied for the period of 1 year, for instance. The responsible authorities have stated that there is no such regulation. The local organs are recommended to pass the free apartments quickly to new tenants who are interested in them.

Leipzig SED Functionaries Call for Dialogue

AU1110111489 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 11 Oct 89 p 1

["hrk" report: "Unrest Among SED Functionaries: First Calls for Dialogue"]

[Excerpt] Leipzig/Berlin/Dresden—After the renewed mass protests of tens of thousands of people in Leipzig, Dresden, and in other GDR towns on Monday [9 October] the pressure of the opposition on the SED leaders, who are unwilling for reform, is increasing. After the Evangelical regional churches had increasingly assumed the role of mediator between the opposition groups and the state power, for the first time SED functionaries in Leipzig have called for open dialogue inspired by the largest demonstration in the GDR since the popular uprising in 1953.

In an appeal they say: "We need free exchange of views about the continuation of socialism in our country." They promise the citizens to "use all their strength and authority so that this dialogue will be held not only in Leipzig Bezirk but also with our government." The appeal is also signed by Kurt Masur, chief musical director of the Leipzig Gewandhaus.

Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR told DIE WELT that profound changes will take place in the GDR probably "by the end of the year." The contents of the changes are important: "Personnel questions and structures are not so important." The routine session of the SED Politburo in East Berlin yesterday was characterized by the demonstrations in nine GDR cities on the weekend and the peaceful mass protest in Leipzig on Monday evening. According to different sources, between 50,000 and 80,000 people gathered there. Large groups of security forces did not intervene. The Evangelical church called this a "remarkable change of thinking on the part of the state leadership." [passage omitted]

Further on 40th Anniversary Celebration

Honecker Meets Antifascists

LD0310141189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1329 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Meritorious antifascist resistance fighters and activists of the first hour had a meeting in Berlin this afternoon with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, other members of party and state leadership, and other public figures of the GDR. The SED Central Committee Politburo was the host of this festive reception on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The meeting in the hall of the Central Committee building was attended by those who paved the way for the first workers' and peasants' state on German soil, founding members of the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class and of the parties allied with it.

In a toast at the beginning of the festive meeting Erich Honecker paid tribute to the 40-year development and growth of the Republic and its revolutionary achievements.

Honecker Opposes Reunification

AU0610151189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Oct 89 p 3

[Toast proposed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at a meeting with antifascists in Berlin on 3 October: "We Are Convinced That the GDR Will Also Master the Challenges of the Future"]

[Text] Dear Comrades of the antifascist resistance, dear activists of the first hour, dear friends and Comrades:

I welcome you all most cordially and with great pleasure and solidarity to the office of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. (applause) We have gathered to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the GDR. It is worthwhile to bear the following in mind: Forty years of the GDR means 40 years of worker-peasant power on German soil.

People From All Classes Created Foundations of Socialism

The foundations for this socialist new Germany had to be prepared. Many of us fought in the "Third Reich" to bring down Hitler's dictatorship. They were people from all classes of the German people, regardless of ideology and religion, who, as German patriots, humanists, and internationalists, saw it as their duty to work in this direction. Others fought in Spain, far away from home. They fought in the Red Army, in the French resistance, in countries like Yugoslavia, Greece, and Denmark. German antifascists, quite a number of whom are here today, demonstrated everywhere that there are two German states.

When in May 1945, the Red Army knocked on the gates of Berlin and took it within a few days, the hour of freedom had come for the peoples in the world, for our people, and for us personally. May one never forget that it was the Soviet Union, its victorious Red Army which bore the main burden in smashing the fascist beast and in liberating the peoples from the brown pestilence in the anti-Hitler coalition. May one never forget that it was also German patriots and internationalist who sacrificed their lives in the struggle against Hitlerite fascism.

The liberation from Hiterlite fascism was for us all the beginning of a new life, a new life for our people. I still remember the days very well when many of us tried to give hope to people, particularly the young, for a new future. We succeeded in doing this to a great extent with the aid of the older and experienced generation. New life arose from the ruins.

First Worker-Peasant State on German Soil

However, not everything turned out the way we wanted it to be. It was not possible to carry out in all zones the antifascist-democratic revolution that was under way. The British-American Zone and the British-American-French Zone were created, the currency was split, and the FRG was founded in 1949.

We all know that, and it is not without emotion that today we recall the uplifting event of 7 October 1949, when the first worker-peasant state on German soil was proclaimed—the GDR. (strong applause) On the basis of previous discussions in all zones on the draft constitution for a unified German Republic, which was produced by the people's movement for unity and just peace, our GDR came into being, supported by millions of people. It was headed by such personalities as Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl, Walter Ulbricht, Max Fechner, Otto Nuschke, Johannes Dieckmann, Lothar Bolz, and Ernst Goldenbaum, as well as Bertolt Brecht, Johannnes R. Becher, Anna Seghers, Arnold Zweig, Willi Bredel, Erich Weinert, and Ernst Busch.

Hardly any of us could fully imagine in 1949 the advance our socialist state would make up to the present day—in political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural terms. At the time there was no lack of prophets of doom, although they knew very well that their prophesies were built on shaky ground.

No Illusion About Reunification

The British publisher Robert Maxwell rightly said yesterday at a news conference in Berlin that what we have created in 40 years represents a fantastic achievement. The GDR has arisen from ruins, has experienced the cold war, and has had to overcome and master many difficulties, he stated. Despite many problems it prevailed and has become an important industrial state in Europe. Those who have achieved this can be very proud, Robert Maxwell stressed. The GDR will exist another 40 years and more. He is right. (strong applause)

I had a detailed talk with him. In the future, there can be rapprochement between the two German states, but certainly no reunification. We are all in favor of two German states, he said, a capitalist and a socialist state. It is this socialist state, dear friends and comrades, that we created jointly, together millions of citizens of the GDR. (strong applause)

The establishment of the worker-peasant power of socialism on German soil was a defeat for German militarism and imperialism and a victory for the healthy forces of the German people, especially for the workers class and its party, the SED.

Security and Stability in Europe

Dear friends and comrades, in 4 decades it has been confirmed that the existence of the socialist GDR is a piece of good fortune for our people and for the peoples of Europe. Through this, security and stability on our continent have acquired a firm cornerstone. Firmly anchored in the Warsaw Pact, our state is a clearly visible sign of what can be achieved when the exploitation of man by man is abolished and when there is persistent work for lasting peace. With the revolutionary transformation and the numerous reforms over the past 40 years of the GDR we have made a great stride forward on the path of socialist construction. As a result of the determination of the working class, the cooperative peasants, and the intelligentsia, successes unparalleled in the history of our people were scored, even if this is still not understood everywhere.

Let me only mention our social policy, the great achievements in housing construction which make clear the changes in the material and cultural life of our people and its youth. We can state today with satisfaction, without self-complacency and arrogance, that we have succeeded in building a society in which mass unemployment is unknown despite rising labor productivity. Despite the fact that our housing program is still to be completed, we have no homeless people in the GDR. Fortunately, there is no drug mafia, no baby trafficking, as is the case in the FRG. Socially secure conditions go hand in hand in our country with augmenting material values. Our society is performance-oriented, but does not forget those who require nursing and care for health reasons.

The GDR Is and Continues to Be a Safety Barrier Against National Socialism

Those for whom socialism has been a thorn in the flesh since the victory of the Red October in 1917 certainly cannot bear it in the shape of the GDR on German soil. It is thought in the FRG now, above all, that the GDR can be lifted off its hinges through an all-out attack. However, this will not come to anything. The more vociferous the yelling about the "continuation of the German Reich within the boundaries of 1937," about a "change of the status quo in Europe," about the "duty to care for all Germans," and the more insolently one breaks one's promise in the implementation of humanitarian acts, the clearer will be our response.

The GDR is and continues to be a strong safety barrier against all attempts to revise the outcome of World War II and postwar developments, the territorial and political realities in Europe. The GDR is also and remains a safety barrier against neo-Nazism of the type of Schoenhuber and his followers, which has appeared on the scene in the FRG and is tolerated and encouraged as if the "Thousand Year Reich" with its barbarism and its terrible campaign of conquest had never existed.

Their electoral gains in the FRG are a fresh reminder for all. We, at any rate, are called upon to increase our vigilance, to strengthen the GDR as a socialist state, and to help ensure that fascism can never again plunge the world into the misfortune of another war.

In 1945, when the most terrible war of all times had ended, the majority of the German people vowed that they would rather live on bread alone than allow another war. This has partly been forgotten. We ourselves must contribute through our work to blocking the road to national-socialism. (strong applause)

Dear friends and comrades, we were happy to receive the news that Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush will hold a summit in the spring or early summer of next year. Just as welcome is the progress that has recently been achieved or has been promised for the future by the USSR and the United States concerning the reduction of strategic offensive weapons and other spheres of disarmament. This strengthens our determination to tirelessly continue our own activities, in accordance with the joint peace program of the Warsaw Pact, which seeks to keep the disarmament process going and to promote it.

In spite of the positive elements in the international situation, we do not disregard the fact that there cannot yet be any talk of a fundamental change in favor of detente. NATO continues to pursue its concept of "nuclear deterrence," and only recently Mr Woerner insisted once again on maintaining nuclear weapons. However, if today it is futile—and it certainly is—to play with the idea of military superiority and accept the risk of a nuclear war, it is equally futile to continue to steadily pile up the huge arsenals of those terrible weapons. They must be reduced, and conventional arms and armed forces must also be reduced. One should stress at this point that in spite of the GDR's unilateral measure to reduce the National People's Army by 10,000 men, not a single soldier of the FRG Wehrmacht has been removed.

Dear friends and comrades, we can commemorate the 40th anniversary of the GDR in the certainty that, thanks to the work and the achievements of all working people, we will be able to master the challenges of the future. With a view to the goal of further shaping the developed socialist society, the well-being of our people is our first and foremost concern. You, dear friends and comrades, will be active fellow fighters and loyal comrades on the further path.

I suggest raising our glasses and drinking to our national day, the 40th anniversary of the GDR. (long, strong applause)

Stoph Addresses Ceremony

LD0410111989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1842 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A memorial plaque was today unveiled in the banquet hall of the ministries building in Berlin by GDR Prime Minister Willi Stoph in remembrance of the founding of the German Democratic Republic on this spot on 7 October, 40 years ago.

Berlin Mayor Erhard Krack welcomed to a meeting on this occasion members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo, President of the People's Chamber Horst Sindermann and Heinz Kessler as well as Deputy Chairmen of the Council of State Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach and Professor Dr Heinrich Homann, and former members of the GDR's Provisory People's Chamber, amongst whom were Wilhelmine Schirmer-Proscher, member of the Pesidium of the supreme representative body [People's

Chamber], the deputies Leonhard Helmschrott, member of the Council of State, Dr Siegfried Dallman, Hans Jendretzky and Paul Scholz.

Willi Stoph praised in his address the founding of the first socialist state of the workers and peasants on German soil as being a turning point in the history of the German people and of Europe. With its formation the longing of many generations of upright Germans was fulfilled, what they had lived and fought for was achieved, namely a German peace state, a life without exploitation and repression, a socially secure future for their children and their children's children.

The broad alliance of all antifascist and democratic forces had been embodied in the National Front. It had passed the litmus test in carrying out fundamental reforms which, through the implementation of the Potsdam Agreement, had eradicated fascism and militarism by their very roots. It was therefore only logical that Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl, the leading representatives of the party of the working class, were elected to the posts of president and prime minister of the German Democratic Republic.

Willi Stoph also called to mind the first President of the People's Chamber Johannes Dieckmann and leading representatives of the parties united in the Democratic Block such as Walter Ulbricht, Otto Nuschke, Dr Hans Loch, Ernst Goldenbaum, and Dr Lother Bolz, who assumed responsible functions in the government.

Recalling that time of 40 years ago, said the chairman of the Council of Ministers, is by no means simply a matter of looking at history. Nowadays, the lessons and experiences of the past are more relevant than ever. Falsifiers of history are attempting to distort the historical facts. They are spreading lies in order to confuse the people. The historical truth was that the German Reich in the 1937 borders perished in the fires of the criminal fascist war of conquest. With the Potsdam Agreement, the foundation stone of a new postwar order in Europe was laid.

There could only be one clear answer to wicked tirades of hate, said Willi Stoph: we emphatically reject the attack by the imperialists on the socialist German Democratic Republic. Those who poison the political atmosphere will fail once again. That is proven not least by the citizens' clear commitment to their workers' and peasants' state and by many collectives' proclaimed desire to make socialism in our country stronger and more attractive through greater achievements.

Regarding matters here at home, we ourselves have the strength to put in order what is not yet in order. That will succeed all the more if we and all citizens solve the tasks before us together. At the place where the GDR was founded it can be noted on the 40th anniversary that the German Democratic Republic has passed its historical test in the center of Europe. It has become an internationally respected member of the family of nations, whose policy of peace enjoys high esteem throughout the world.

Soviet Stresses 'Territorial Integrity'

LD0410114189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0913 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The USSR views the strict respecting of existing territorial and political realities as well as the inviolability of existing borders and of the territorial integrity of states as one of the most urgent requirements of security policy. This was stressed by USSR Defense Minister Army General Dimitriy Yazov, in an exclusive interview with the GDR magazine FREIE WELT [FREE WORLD]. "That is one of the foundations on which the common European home can be constructed today in joint effort. All attempts to deploy methods of the cold war must be fended off, because they threaten to shake this foundation."

The minister praised the founding of the first socialist German state. Its significance for the history of European development could, in his words, "not be estimated highly enough. Socialism is anchored firmly and unshakeably on German soil. Important impulses for the development of the all-European process and the affirmation of the principles of cooperation and good-neighborliness emanate from here.

"The Soviet citizens are pleased that the GDR can celebrate its 40-year existence with great achievements in all areas of social life and with high international standing." The GDR, an historic ally of the Soviet state, is realizing consistently and steadfastly the joint foreign policy course of the Warsaw Pact states and is making an important contribution to European detente, to the development of the disarmament process, and to the construction of a world free of nuclear weapons and violence.

In the interview the minister gave his opinion on the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact disarmament, and on other questions of security and detente. He explained the consistent implementation of the new Soviet military doctrine in the structure, training, and manpower strength of the entire army and its component forces.

For example, the Soviet Union has withdrawn two tank divisions, two aircraft squadrons, one training regiment, three airborne batallions and a series of smaller units from the sovereign territory of the GDR—including 1,988 tanks, 169 artillery, 126 aircraft, and 11,416 army personnel. At the same time the remaining units and formations have been regrouped into a new, purely defensive organization structure. In all, the entire strength of the armed forces of the USSR has been reduced to date by 148,900 men, 6,680 tanks, 1,070 artillery, and 150 ferrying and landing craft.

In order to safeguard security, the Army General said, it is necessary to eliminate the present imbalances and asymmetries on the basis of mutuality and equality of the sides. The transition must be made from overarming to a rational sufficiency for defense.

The USSR is undertaking energetic efforts to solve further disarmament problems. "In particular we are doing everything required of us to complete the treaty on the halving of strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States."

Dimitriy Yazov described NATO'S attitude—that first of all an agreement on the reduction in conventional armed forces should be reached and only afterwards could the problems of tactical nuclear weapons be discussed—as an attempt to artificially delay the solution of this problem. The possibilities which have arisen by means of the new political thinking offer the chance of safeguarding security with political and diplomatic means, of advancing further in the question of sufficient defense at a necessary level of national and collective security, as well as the consolidation of peace in Europe, indeed in the whole world.

Ceremony for Victims of Fascism

LD0410220289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1921 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Today the National People's Army [NVA] honored the victims of fascism and militarism with a tattoo in Berlin.

Thousands of Berliners and their guests attended the traditional ceremony of military music on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR at the memorial on Unter den Linden.

Also present were GDR Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler and other representatives of the state and party leadership, as well as of social organizations. Among the guests were Boris Snetkov commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG], and Colonel General Nikolay Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the GSFG, as well as defense and military attaches accredited to the GDR. [passage omitted]

Soviet, Polish Warships Visit

AU1110130389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Oct 89 p 3

[ADN report: "Fleets of Soviet and Polish Comrades-in-Arms Visit"]

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—On Thursday [5 October] fleet units of the USSR's Baltic Fleet and the Polish Navy arrived in Rostock for a visit. They are headed by Fleet Commanders Admiral Vitaliy Ivanov and Rear Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk. At the Warnemunde passenger quay Vice Admiral Theodor Hoffmann, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the People's Navy, welcomed the comrades-in-arms. The flagships of the units are the coast guard ship "Bditelniy" and the missile destroyer "Warszawa."

During their 5-day stay the crews of the friendly fleets will visit enterprises and institutions of the GDR coastal bezirk and will participate in the festivities on the GDR's anniversary. Music corps of both fleets will give military concerts in Rostock's inner city.

Army Honors War Victims

LD0710161289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1413 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the National People's Army today honored the victims of fascism and militarism with a grand mounting of the guard in Berlin. Thousands of Berliners and guests in the capital came out on the Unter den Linden for the traditional, military ceremony.

A guard of honor from the "Friedrich Engels" guards regiment, led by the staff corps of music and the brass band of the Berlin city command, marched past. After the guard of honor sounded the bugle call there followed the changing of the guard. The army members remembered the victims of fascist barbarism and imperialist wars with arms presented.

The military ceremony ended with a march past.

Guests Honor Victims

AU1110125389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Oct p 6

[ADN report: "Foreign Guests Laid Wreaths in Berlin"]

[Excerpt] Berlin—[passage omitted] Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Central Committee first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski in Berlin on Friday [6 October] honored the fight, which claimed many sacrifices, of Polish soldiers and German antifascists during the years of Nazi barbarism. They laid a bouquet of flowers at the memorial of German-Polish brotherhood-in-arms in the Friedrichshain popular park. Members of the National People's Army and the Polish Army held a guard of honor in front of the memorial.

The guests were accompanied by GDR Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph and GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer.

Also on Friday, the Hungarian delegation to the GDR's 40th anniversary honored the victims of fascism and militarism by laying a wreath at the Unter den Linden memorial. The delegation, which was led by Professor Bruno Ferenc Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, was accompanied by State Council Deputy Chairman Gerald Goetting.

Honecker Addresses Reception

LD0710190389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1739 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the 5th decade of its existence the GDR will continue to be an important, reliable factor for peace in the center of Europe. This assurance was given by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, in a toast at a festive reception in Berlin this evening.

"Our friends throughout the world can rest assured that socialism on German soil stands on unshakeable foundations in the homeland of Marx and Engels," Erich Honecker told citizens of all classes and strata, representatives of the socialist state and of the party of the working class and the parties and mass organizations allied with it in the National Front, the foreign guests who have come for the anniversary, and members of the diplomatic corps. He thanked the guests from abroad for taking part in the celebrations to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

Prominent artists and ensembles presented a cultural program.

PRC Youth Visit FDJ Council

AU1010163089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Oct 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Young People From the PRC in the FDJ Central Council"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [5 October] Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the Central Council of the Free German Youth [FDJ], had a talk with Zhang Baoshun, secretary of the Central Committee of the PRC Communist Youth League and head of a delegation of the PRC Communist Youth League, which is staying in Berlin on the 40th anniversary of the GDR. Zhang Baoshun thanked the FDJ for preparing for and carrying out the "Day of Chinese Youth" in Bautzen and paid tribute to it as an important factor of consolidating the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the young generations of the two countries. On behalf of the Chinese youth association, he congratulated the young people of the GDR on the republic's anniversary and wished the FDJ much success in the further shaping of socialism. The interlocutors discussed questions of future cooperation between the two associations.

PRC Leaders Send Greetings

AU1010144889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Oct p 10

[Greetings message by PRC leaders on the GDR national day]

[Text] Comrade Erich Honecker,

Central Committee general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Comrade Willi Stoph,

Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers;

Comrade Horst Sindermann,

President of the GDR People's Chamber:

On the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, we permit ourselves on behalf of the CPC Central Committee, the Chinese Government, and the Chinese people, to convey to you and, through you, to the SED Central Committee, the government, and the people of the GDR our cordial congratulations and sincere greetings.

With their diligent hands, the GDR people founded the first worker-peasant state on German soil on the ruins of the war 40 years ago. Under the leadership of the SED, the GDR people have attained internationally recognized achievements during the past 40 years by carrying out the guidelines laid down at the Eighth SED Congress by hard struggle and by overcoming difficulties. The GDR today has become a politically stable and economically developed state. The GDR has made untiring efforts and substantial contributions to the cause of the preservation of peace in the world and in Europe. This fills us with sincere joy and admiration.

The relations of friendship and cooperation between China and the GDR have developed comprehensively in recent years; the relations between our two countries and parties have been constantly expanded and enriched and these relations have passed tough tests. We are convinced that by the joint efforts of both sides, the relations between China and the GDR will see a new development on the basis of mutual respect, mutual understanding, mutual confidence, and on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

We wish the GDR success and prosperity, and its people happiness.

Jiang Zemin,

General secretary of the CPC Central Committee;

Yang Shangkun,

President of the PRC;

Li Peng,

Premier of the PRC State Council

SFRY Leaders Send Greetings

AU1010182589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Oct 89 p 10

[Greetings message from SFRY leaders on GDR national day]

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council:

Esteemed Comrade Honecker,

It is with pleasure that I convey cordial congratulations and best wishes for further comprehensive progress and new successes in building your country to you on behalf of the SFRY Presidency as well as on my own behalf on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR.

I take this opportunity to express my conviction that friendly relations and fruitful cooperation that have been cultivated successfully over a long period by our two countries will comprehensively develop in the future in the interest of both sides and in the spirit of mutual respect and mutual understanding.

Dr Janez Drnovsek,

Chairman of the SFRY Presidency

To Comrade Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers:

It is a special pleasure for me to convey to you and the GDR Council of Ministers cordial congratulations and best wishes on behalf of the National Executive Council and on my own behalf on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR.

I take this opportunity to express my deep conviction that the friendly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation between our two countries will develop and deepen constantly in the future in the interest of peace and progress in the world.

Ante Markovic,

Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the SFRY Assembly

Castro Greetings

AU1110083989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Oct 89 p 11

[Greetings message from Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the PCC Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and Government of the Republic of Cuba, to GDR leaders on the GDR's national day]

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers

Dear Comrades:

It is with pleasure that we convey fraternal greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC], the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and from the Cuban people to you, the SED, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the people of our fraternal country on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

The creation of the first socialist state on German soil was a decisive step in the advance of the progressive forces in the world. Today we can state with satisfaction that this achievement is being consolidated and taking on new dimensions. The GDR is a guarantee for peace and an unshakeable bastion of socialism.

During the past 4 decades, a highly developed state was created that is capable of satisfying the social and individual needs of its people to an increasing extent and in a harmonious way.

The time that has elapsed since the Eighth SED Congress, at which the strategy for economic and social progress of which the GDR can rightly be proud was adopted, is of particular importance.

Its economic and social development that is meeting with recognition worldwide, as well as its consistent attitude in the sphere of foreign policy have not only made it possible for the GDR to overcome its isolation that existed in the past but to also win the respect of all progressive forces in the world and to play an increasingly active role in international life.

We express our satisfaction and pay tribute to the efforts the GDR is making together with the USSR and the other socialist states to bring about just and lasting disarmament worldwide, and we appreciate your firm solidarity for the struggles of the poorest and neediest nations in the world.

I hope that the relations of sincere comradeship and fraternity that exist between our parties, states, and peoples will deepen steadily, and I am convinced that these ties will further strengthen in harmony with our joint interests and hopes. In this spirit, we will continue to make the greatest possible efforts which we multiply at a time when the GDR once more fends off the attacks of those that want to slash socialism in this fraternal country.

Dear Comrades, please accept our most cordial congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. We sincerely wish you further great successes in your efforts for socialist development that is taking place under your proven leadership.

With revolutionary greetings,

Fidel Castro Ruz,

first secretary of the PCC Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and the Government of the Republic of Cuba

DKP Chairman Praises Nation

AU1110084989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Oct 89 p 5

[ADN report: "DKP Chairman Pays Tribute to GDR's Commitment to Peace"]

[Text] Duesseldorf (ADN)—Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party [DKP], said that the founding of the GDR 40 years ago was a turning point in German history and a truly historic progress. With the building of the antifascist peace state, the socialist German workers movement proved that it is possible to live without the rule of capital and to build a new society in line with socialist ideas, he stated in Duesseldorf on Wednesday [4 October] during a meeting of the party executive committee, which was attended by Ambassador Horst Neubauer, head of the GDR's permanent mission in the FRG.

The party chairman, who wished the GDR citizens further successes in shaping their society on behalf of the FRG Communists, paid tribute to the active commitment to peace of the first German worker-peasant state. The socialist neighboring country, in which the bases and roots of fascism, militarism, and nationalist policy of war have been eliminated, has been a stable factor of peace in Europe since its founding, Herbert Mies said. The call for peaceful coexistence and understanding, for political realism, and for a coalition of reason has always emanated from the GDR.

In view of the "unprcedented campaign by FRG media and parties against the GDR," the DKP chairman made the appeal to stop the interference in the GDR's internal affairs as soon as possible. As the dangers resulting from such a campaign, he cited the destruction of the hard-won good-neighborly relations between the two German states, a strain on the disarmament process, and the escalation of new social problems in the FRG.

"Whoever tries to call into question the existence of the socialist GDR by talking about reunification, by keeping the so-called German question open, by claiming a Germany within the borders of 1937, and by presuming to be the sole representatitve of all Germans, whoever dreams of the political rollback of socialism, threatens the European postwar order, endangers peace and security, and undermines the foundations of a common European home." Herbert Mies said that in the FRG people must now seriously think about whether the policy of attempting to destabilize the GDR is compatible with the legacy that war must never again start from German soil.

DPRK Leaders Send Greetings

AU1110113989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Oct 89 p 11

[Greetings messages from Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK Central Committee and DPRK president, and Yon Hyong-muk, DPRK premier, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, respectively, on GDR national day]

[Text] Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK], the DPRK Government, and the Korean people, as well as on by own behalf, I convey to you, and through you to the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the people of the GDR, warm congratulations and fraternal greetings on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, your people's significant national day.

The emergence of the first worker-peasant state on German soil—the GDR—was an important turning point in the history of the German people and Europe. Its significance was emphatically confirmed by the revolutionary changes that have been carried out in your state in the past 40 years.

Under the leadership of the SED, the GDR people energetically pushed the building of socialism, and in this way set up, in the center of Europe, a politically stable, modern socialist state with continuous economic growth.

Today the GDR people resolutely protect and defend the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialism against all attacks and defamations of imperialism, and struggle actively for the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR's colors.

The GDR reliably protects the Western outpost of socialism, and as a result enjoys unshakable international respect.

The Korean people appreciate the outstanding successes that have been reached by the GDR people as common successes of the socialist forces in the world, and assure you of their full support for, and solidarity with, your struggle for the solid protection of your country's sovereignty and for the preservation of peace and security in Europe and the world.

I take this opportunity to express my conviction that the traditional fraternal relations of friendship and cooperation between our two parties, states, and peoples will neutralize the constantly intensifying attacks of imperialism against socialism, and will be consolidated further by our joint struggle for the victory of peace and the cause of socialism and communism. I wish you and your people wholeheartedly further great successes in the struggle for the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the 11th SED Congress for your country's benefit.

Kim Il-song,

general secretary of the WPK Central Committee and

DPRK president. X X X

Comrade Willi Stoph,

chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers:

On the occasion of the GDR's 40th founding anniversary, I convey to you fraternal greetings and warm congratulations.

The Korean people are truly happy that in these 40 years, the people of your republic, under the leadership of the SED, have consistently kept to the principles of socialism, and have achieved considerable successes in shaping the developed socialist society, despite the difficult conditions in which they are directly confronted with imperialism.

With the firm conviction that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries will reach a higher stage in the spirit of the agreements reached at significant meetings and in negotiations between the highest representatives of our two countries, and on the basis of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, I wish you and the people of your republic much success in the worthy preparation for the 12th SED Congress as well as personal well-being.

Yon Hyong-muk,

president of the DPRK Council of Ministers

Afghan Leaders Send Greetings

AU1110083789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Oct 89 p 12

[Greetings message from Afghan leaders on the GDR 's national day]

[Text] To His Excellency, Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]

His Excellency, Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, we convey most cordial congratulations to you, Excellencies, and through you to the people, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the GDR. The successes that have been achieved by the working people of the GDR under the leadership of the SED within a relatively short period in the socioeconomic and political spheres are praiseworthy.

The GDR also plays an important role in the international struggle for peace, disarmament, detente, and the strengthening of mutual trust.

The Republic of Afghanistan observes with satisfaction the expansion of friendly relations in the most varied areas. The Afghan population could rely and can still rely on the GDR's selfless solidarity in its struggle for peace and progress.

Esteemed friends, please allow us to convey our sincere wishes for the further development of your beautiful country and the steady deepening of friendly relations between the peoples and governments of the GDR and the Republic of Afghanistan.

Najibullah,

president of the Republic of Afghanistan

Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand,

chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers

PDRY Leaders Greet Honecker

AU1110145589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Oct 89 p 7

[Message from PDRY leaders to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council on the GDR National Day]

[Text] Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council:

On behalf of the Central Committee of our party and its Politburo and of the Supreme People's Council and its Presidium, we would like to convey to you our comradely, cordial congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

We would like to seize this opportunity to express our great appreciation for the achievements, which your country has accomplished under the prudent leadership of your party on the path toward the completion of the building of socialism, as well as for the high respect which it enjoys all over the world and for the role it has assumed in the interest of the cause of peace and of the welfare and progress of mankind.

We use this opportunity to express our desire to develop and consolidate the relations which exist between our two countries in the most varied fields and in the interest of our two peoples and of the cause of our joint struggle.

We cordially wish you good health and happiness and your people further progress. May the relations between our two parties and peoples develop further.

'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party;

Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas, member of the Politburo, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

SWAPO Greets Honecker

AU1110084189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Oct 89 p 11

[Greetings message from SWAPO President Sam Nujoma to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, on the GDR's national day]

[Text] Comrade Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council

Esteemed Comrade General Secretary:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO] and the fighting Namibian patriots, I would like to convey greetings and congratulations to the SED Central Committee on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

Since its founding, the GDR has proven to be a country that supports the oppressed people in the whole world, particularly in Namibia, and that advocates the promotion of peace and cooperation in the world.

SWAPO and the Namibian people are very grateful for the comprehensive material aid and the political and diplomatic support that the GDR provided during the past year of our just struggle.

I take this opportunity to wish you, Comrade General Secretary, the best of health and new creative vigor so that you can lead the people of the GDR to further economic prosperity and happiness.

Yours faithfully,

Sam Nujoma,

president of SWAPO

Axen Speaks at PRC Anniversary Event

AU0410122589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Sep - 1 Oct p 4

[Speech by Politburo Member Hermann Axen at a festive event organized by the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the National Council of the National Front, on the 40th anniversariy of the founding of the PRC in the German State Opera Unter den Linden in Berlin on 29 September: "One of the Most Important Events of the Century"]

[Text] Dear Chinese Comrades and friends, dear comrades, ladies and gentlemen:

In a few days the Chinese people, the countries of socialism, and all progressive and peace-loving people will celebrate the 40th anniversary of one of the most important events of this century: On 1 October 1949 the leader of the Chinese revolution, Mao Zedong, proclaimed the founding of the PRC in Beijing.

For a Quarter of Mankind the Path Toward a New, Free Life Opened Up

With this a new epoch started in the history of one of the oldest civilizations of our earth. For a quarter of mankind the historic path toward a new, free, and decent life opened up.

Under the leadership of its Communist Party, the Chinese people decided forever in favor of building the socialist social system, as the only alternative to centuries of feudal, capitalist, colonial, and imperialist exploitation and oppression, to social and national backwardness and dependence. The transition from capitalism to socialism in the country with the highest population on earth also meant a progressive change in the international balance of power in favor of the cause of peace and social progress. The victory of the Chinese people opened up new, far-reaching prospects for the national and social liberation in Asia and in the world. It accelerated the collapse of the imperialist colonial system.

The founding of the PRC was the result of the sacrificial and finally victorious struggle of the Chinese people, which had lasted since the Opium War of 1840, for their liberation from the dual yoke of domestic and foreign oppression. As early as 1911, under the leadership of the great Chinese revolutionary democrat Sun Yatsen, the country was freed of 2,000 years of servitude through the overthrow of the feudalistic monarchy. However, the bourgeois-democratic revolution was unable to unravel the knot of the ties, which were formed by the semifeudal, semicapitalist, and semicolonial contradictions.

Only the CPC, which was founded in 1921 under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution by outstanding revolutionaries, such as Li Dazhao and Mao Zedong, showed the Chinese people the path into a future that would be free of any exploitation and oppression.

Marked highlights of the heroic liberation struggle of the Chinese people were the uprising of Quangdong in autumn 1927, the formation of the Red Worker-Peasant Army, the legendary 12,500-km "Long March," the establishment of the revolutionary bases in central and northern China, the anti-Japanese resistance war, and the revolutionary liberation struggle against the reactionary Guomindang regime.

The attempt of Jiang Kaishek's Guomindang regime, which was supported by the Chinese bourgeoisie and the international monopoly capital, to keep China within the sphere of rule of capitalism, proved to be historically unsuitable. With the victory of the Chinese people the rule of a negligible minority of domestic and foreign exploiters over the great majority of the people was ended. The working masses in the world's third-largest country took their fate into their own hands.

In their struggle the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people experienced from the very start the solidarity and support of the progressive people all over the world, above all, of the USSR and the Communist International. The destruction of the Japanese elite army in northeast China by the Soviet Army at the end of World War II proved to be the most important external factor for the victory of the Chinese revolution.

The Heavy Legacy Seemed Practically Insurmountable

Today one can hardly imagine the heavy, seemingly insurmountable legacy with which China started into the new epoch. The big China was miserably poor and backward; the people lived on the brink of starvation, which during the Chinese history of the system of exploitation had killed more people than any wars.

Under the leadership of battle-tested revolutionaries, such as Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Peng Dehuai, Ye Djenying, and Deng Xiaoping, the CPC, in alliance with other democratic forces, faced the enormous task to open up the path toward socialism for a country with such economic and social backwardness, in which the workers class was just on the point of establishing itself.

Supported by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the Chinese people overcame with great energy the enormous difficulties in rebuilding the destroyed and ruined country and passed on to establishing the bases of socialism.

The revolutionary process of building socialism, which is taking place in all countries as a path leading into historical virgin territory, proved to be particularly complicated and full of contradictions in this country. Over the past 40 years, the socialist revolution and the building of the new system in China have had to stand harsh tests. The Chinese people were not spared wrong developments and tragic setbacks, such as the "Cultural Revolution," which the Chinese Comrades call the 10 lost years.

But the Chinese people, under the leadership of the CPC, have always found the strength to remove and overcome all objective and subjective difficulties and achieved great victories in the building of socialism.

To cite just some characteristic facts: Over the 4 decades of people's power the national income rose 32-fold, gross production 42-fold. Over the past 10 years alone the people's real income doubled. The fact that the socialist system ensures food to more than 1 billion people cannot be praised enough.

Today, the PRC has reached first place in world production of cotton fabrics, cement, and coal, it ranks fourth in the production of rolled steel and electricity, and fifth in the production of crude oil. With new achievements, socialist China continues the traditions of Chinese science. They are successfully working on the introduction of various high technologies. China has joined the nations with space-flight capability.

13th CPC Congress Sets High Goals

These important achievements in science, technology, and production were possible only because by abolishing exploitation of man by man, the socialist revolution freed hundreds of millions of people from the heavy burden of illiteracy and underdevelopment and paved their way to new heights of education and culture. The number of Chinese poets, musicians, painters, dancers, artists, and athletes, who win cultural and athletic competitions among the nations is large.

Dear Comrades and friends, we wholeheartedly congratulate our Chinese comrades and the fraternal Chinese people on these great successes, which they have achieved over the 40 years of building socialism in China. (strong applause) These achievements bear weight on the scales of history. They are the main result of the 4 decades of victorious socialist revolution in the PRC.

Generalizing China's experiences on the historic path of socialism, the 13th CPC Congress in 1987 proved that the country is in the first stage of socialism. Characteristics of this first stage are the socialist economic system on the basis of social ownership of the most important producer goods, the socialist political system of democratic dictatorship of the people under the leadership of the workers class and its Communist Party, the leading role of Marxism in the field of ideology, the abolition of exploitation, the country's enormously increased economic capacity, and a considerable standard in education, science, and culture.

At the same time, the 13th CPC Congress pointed out that—in international comparison—the PRC still has a relatively low level in the development of the productive forces. The PRC is facing a dual task: fulfilling the tasks of industrialization, which have already been fulfilled in the developed countries, and, at the same time, living up to the requirements of the scientific-technological revolution.

This, dear friends and comrades, is doubtlessly a goal of historic proportions, which requires patience and enormous efforts. We are convinced that China, under the leadership of the CPC and based on the advantages and motive forces of the socialist social system, will reach these noble goals on the course of modernization, reforms, and opening up. Those who think about it, will understand the historic scope of this progress in the PRC.

Linked in Close Solidarity For a Long Time

Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends and comrades:

Since their founding, our two parties have been liked in internationalist militant solidarity. It is to the credit of the Communist Party of Germany [KPD] that from the very beginning it understood the importance of the Chinese Revolution. German Communists and internationalists fought at the side of the Chinese people on the barricades of the Quangdong Commune and in the class battles of the Chinese proletariat in large cities such as Shanghai and Wuhan, and participated in the "Long March."

As KPD chairman, our unforgotten Comrade Ernst Thaelmann paid utmost attention to supporting the Chinese revolution. On 5 April 1927, 20,000 Berlin working people followed the call of the KPD and gathered for a rally to passionately protest against the imperialist intervention in China. In the 1920's outstanding Chinese revolutionaries worked in Germany, among them Comrades Zhu De and Zhou Enlai.

With deep gratitude we remember the internationalist support of the CPC for the German Communists and antifascists during the time of Hitler's tyranny.

This great tradition of proletarian internationalism received new dimensions with the founding of the PRC and the GDR in October 1949—events which have decisively participated in shaping the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the development and strengthening of the socialist world system and will continue to characterize it. The revolutionary changes in our countries actively contributed to the fact that the wheel of history cannot be turned back.

Erich Honecker's Trip Opened a New Chapter in the Cooperation Between the Two Peoples

Since then, cooperation between our two socialist states has developed dynamically and successfully. The PRC was among the first states of the world which recognized the GDR under international law.

Enterprises such as the radio-parts works in Beijing, the measuring-instruments factory in Xian, the abrasive-disk works in Zhengzhou, the construction and equipment of power plants, cement factories, and printing plants, as well as the training of Chinese cadres and experts in the 1950's were the vivid proof of fraternal solidarity and support of the GDR for the Chinese people.

When, after the end of the so-called Cultural Revolution, there was the opportunity to revitalize the relations, Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, seized the initiative with his trip to the PRC in October 1986 to open a new chapter in cooperation between our two parties, states, and peoples. This was a bold and exemplary act of strategic and lasting effect.

We note with pleasure that since then the close, fruitful relations between the GDR and the PRC have developed comprehensively, dynamically, and extremely successfully. The relations between the SED and the CPC prove to be the moving force of the trusting cooperation in the most different fields of social life.

Convincing Proof of the Joint Will for Peace

Dear comrades and friends, loyal to the great traditions, the SED and the CPC, the GDR and the PRC are standing side by side in the struggles of our time. Our increasingly comprehensive cooperation serves the strengthening of socialism, in our two countries, the positions of peace, and social progress in the world. The GDR and the PRC consider the safeguarding of peace as the basic command of the present.

Since their founding, both states have consistently and with many initiatives supported the working out and implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. We recall the great contribution made to this by the PRC at the international conference of Bandung in 1956.

In the United Nations, its special organizations, and in the international democratic organizations the GDR and the PRC jointly advocate the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction and come out against the militarization of space, for conventional disarmament, for the halting of nuclear tests, for the establishment of a new international economic order on the basis of equal rights, for peace and international security, for dialogue and peaceful solutions to international conflicts. Our two states have given convincing proof of their will for peace and disarmament.

As is known, the GDR has unilaterally cut the Armed Forces of the National People's Army and the military budget by 10 percent. Over the past years the PRC has reduced its Armed Forces by 1 million men.

At an exposed location in Europe, the GDR is making its active contribution to peace and security. The principle of our political actions is and remains to do everything so that war will never again start from German soil but only peace. The GDR sees its contribution to making the initiated change for the better in the world irreversible in independent disarmament initiatives, in political dialogue, and in cooperation with everyone who approaches the international questions with reason, realism, responsibility, and far-sightedness.

Dear comrades and friends, the complicated nature and the escalation of the worldwide struggle for peace, disarmament, and cooperation requires, above all, close cooperation and mutual support among the socialist states. Therefore, the SED and the GDR paid tribute to the Soviet-Chinese summit this May and the constructive agreements as an event of international political rank. The deepening of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the PRC is an important contribution to strengthening the positions of peace and socialism in the Asian-Pacific area and all over the world. No wonder the most aggressive and reactionary forces of imperialism with their urge for arms buildup and confrontation, for military superiority and hegemony, are pursuing an internationally organized campaign to weaken and destabilize socialism. The international antisocialist campaign is directed against all our countries, from Beijing to Berlin.

GDR Has Adopted a Clear Internationalist Attitude

When this spring, forces hostile to socialism used the escalation of unsolved internal contradictions to unleash a long-prepared, counterrevolutionary uprising in Beijing and thus brought about dangers to socialism in China, our party, our state, and our people adopted a clear internationalist attitude.

In its well-known statement, the GDR People's Chamber stressed that it considers the events in Beijing an exclusively internal affair of the PRC and is against any foreign interference. It expressed its firm conviction that the PRC party and state leadership, closely connected with the people, is taking the steps to clear up the problems and continue the worldwide advance of the fraternal Chinese people on the path of socialism, which they freely chose 40 years ago.

In Europe the campaign of the enemies of detente is currently concentrating in particular on the GDR. Because a strong socialism at the sensitive border line between socialism and imperialism, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, is a thorn in the side of those interested in armament and of the revanchists.

A Cornerstone of Socialism in the Heart of Europe

On the eve of the 40th anniversary, our GDR is again proving to be a cornerstone of peace and socialism in the heart of Europe, as a dead bolt against all attacks on peace, disarmament, and detente.

Consistently and with good results, we are implementing the general line of shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR on the tested course of the unity of economic and social policy, which was confirmed by the 11th SED Congress. In the future, too, our social strategy will be determined by what has been set down in our party's program: serving the welfare and the happiness of the people.

With great attention and sympathetic feelings the GDR citizens observe the efforts of the fraternal Chinese people, under the leadership of the CPC in implementing the program of socialist modernization in China. We are pleased about the successes, which increasingly benefit the fraternal Chinese people in the spirit of socialism.

Dear comrades and friends, on the occasion of the forthcoming great festive days of the PRC and the GDR we assure you: We will do everything for further fruitful cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples. Friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the PRC have a great future, great prospects! (Strong applause)

Long live the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC!

Long live the unshakable friendship between the GDR and the PRC!

Long live our common cause of the building of socialism and the safeguarding of world peace! (strong, long-lasting applause)

Young Workers Celebrate

LD0110163289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1426 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Young German, Sorbian and Chinese workers joined together in Bautzen (Dresden area) today for a "Day of Chinese Youth in the GDR." With a cultural program, organized by professional and amateur artists from both countries as well as many meetings and talks they celebrated together the 40th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China and the upcoming 40th anniversary of the GDR.

Approximately 400 of the 900 mainly young citizens from the eastern Asian country who are working in the GDR and their peers from Bautzen welcomed a delegation from China's Communist Youth Federation, the KJV, headed by Central Committee Secretary Zhang Baoshun.

Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the Central Council of the GDR youth organization the FDJ, praised in his festive address the achievements made by the most populated country on the earth while succeeding in overcoming semicolonial and semifeudal conditions in less than half a life's span. This is proof of what socialism is capable of achieving as a young social order and what potential it has for the future.

Zhang Baoshun reported about the achievements of the Chinese people and praised the solidarity of the GDR in complicated situations. In this connection he cited the assessment of the FDJ on the counterrevolutionary rebellion in Beijing. With its position the GDR youth association has implemented the princple of mutual respect, equality and sovereignty in the international relations between youth and student organizations. He assured the participants of the firm solidarity of the Chinese people and the KJV of China against all attacks on the sovereignty of the GDR.

PRC Ambassador Injured in Highway Crash

LD0810170789 East Berlin ADN international Service in German 1500 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] A Trabant car crashed into the PRC ambassador's vehicle on the Berlin-Cottbus highway, near Luebbenau, this morning. The reason for the crash is not yet known.

Two people in the Trabant were killed and the Chinese ambassador and his driver were injured. They were taken to the Cottbus hospital where they are receiving all the necessary medical treatment.

Central Committee Greets MSZMP Congress

AU1110131389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Oct 89 p 9

[ND report: "SED CC Greets MSZMP Congress"]

[Text] East Berlin—The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] has sent the following greetings message to the congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], which starts in Budapest today, Friday:

Dear Comrades:

The SED Central Committee conveys cordial greetings to you, the delegates to the MSZMP Congress, and to all party members.

The GDR Communists are very attentively following the efforts of your party to find ways and methods in line with your specific conditions to get the Hungarian People's Republic out of a complicated domestic situation and to ensure the further building of socialism.

The German and Hungarian communists are linked by friendly relations and longstanding traditions of joint struggle for peace and socialism. In the future, too, the SED will do everything to further develop and deepen this trusting cooperation.

In the struggle of all forces of peace, reason, and realism to avert the danger of a nuclear inferno, for disarmament and the safeguarding of peace in Europe and all over the world, our two parties are standing side by side as allies. We are convinced that in the future, too, our parties will make their contribution to implementing the peace program of the socialist state by means of constructive initiatives.

Under the leadership of the SED and in implementation of its decision, the working people of our country are ensuring with great achievements the continuation of the policy that is aimed at the welfare of the people and guaranteeing the continuation of the stable political and dynamic economic development of the GDR, the 40th anniversary of which we are commemorating at this time.

Esteemed comrades, the SED Central Committee wishes your party congress success. May its discussions and decisions contribute to strengthening the unity and militant strength of the MSZMP, to consolidating and further developing the socialist social system in the Hungarian People's Republic.

With socialist greetings,

SED Central Committee,

E. Honecker,

general secretary.

Honecker Congratulates Nyers

LD1010190889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1807 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, sent the following telegram of congratulations to Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

On behalf of the SED Central Committee I convey to you our warm congratulations on your election as chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

These congratulations are linked with the hope for a prosperous cooperation for the well-being of our peoples, peace and socialism. I wish you success and energy in your responsible activity.

Honecker Agrees With FRG Peace Movement

AU1010161289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Oct 89 p 6

[ADN report: "Erich Honecker Answers Letter from Members of the FRG Peace Movement"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, has answered a letter sent to him by Klaus Beisiegel, managing director of the "German Peace Society—United Opponents of Conscription."

In a letter to GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the unleashing of World War II, the secretary general of the "German Peace Society—United Opponents of Conscription" called on the GDR and the FRG to abstain, for the duration of 1 year, from calling up conscripts to serve in the armed forces.

Erich Honecker's letter reads as follows:

Dear Mr Beisiegel:

I read with great interest your open letter which contains the demand passed by the "German Peace Society—United Opponents of Conscription" on the 1989 antiwar day. I am in complete agreement with the view advocated by you that both German states should contribute to overcoming the continuing military threat, to break down enemy images, and build up trust, and to thus free the way for a process of disarmament, for a world without weapons and without the military.

It was doubtlessly one of the most important results of my official visit to your country in September 1987 that the GDR and the FRG confirmed the basic principle that never again war, but only peace, should be allowed to start from German soil. This principle fully corresponds to the views you expressed in your letter.

The 50th anniversary of the unleashing of World War II by German fascism obligates us to consider how the two German states can fulfill their duty of peace to the world.

The GDR supports the elimination of all means of waging war. Arms limitation and disarmament must replace the arms build-up and the arms race.

Now that the first step towards effective disarmament has been made with the elimination of intermediate-range missiles, it is our view that we cannot only not allow any respite in the disarmament process, but should show greater haste so that the whole world, on the threshold of the year 2000, is freed not only of nuclear weapons, but from all weapons used for attack. In this spirit the GDR, driven by the endeavor to make a contribution of its own to disarmament and also to provide stimuli that make other states think, decided on measures at the beginning of this year that to a great extent concur with the ideas put forward by you or go beyond them.

The GDR National Defense Council has resolved that:

1. The GDR National People's Army will unilaterally and independently of negotiations be reduced by 10,000 men.

2. This reduction in the National People's Army's manpower will be accompanied by

—the disbanding of six tank regiments;

—the elimination of 600 tanks;

—the disbanding of one flying squadron; and

—the decommissioning of 50 aircraft.

3. At the same time a reduction of 10 percent in national defense expenditures will be effected.

4. These reduction measures will be completed by the end of 1990, and the structure of the National People's Army will be reorganized so that its character is even more strictly one of defense.

Meanwhile, the implementation of this decision has progressed a long way. This decision contains far more than the proposal not to draft any conscripts for army service for 1 year.

We have also taken this decision with the expectation that in the FRG, in accordance with the two side's obligation to peace, similar measures will be taken. Unfortunately, there has not, up to now, been a positive reaction from the FRG Government.

I can assure you that the GDR is ready at any time to enter negotiations or consultations with the responsible FRG politicians on steps toward disarmament or arms limitation.

This readiness also refers to your proposal to abandon the drafting of conscripts for 1 year.

I wish you much success and creative energy in your active work for peace and remain,

Yours sincerely,

E. Honecker.

Berlin, 26 September 1989

Official Denies SWAPO Camp Children Held

MB0910173989 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1727 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Harare, Oct 9, SAPA—A senior German Democratic Republic foreign affairs official on Monday [9 October] denied media allegations that some children from alleged SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] penal camps were being held in his country, ZIANA, the national news agency reports.

In a statement, GDR foreign affairs spokesman Mr Wolfgang Meyer said the temporary care of Namibian children was in line with his country's policy of assisting national liberation movements and states in southern Africa.

"The slandesrous nature of such reports was all the more obvious as the majority of these children, who enjoyed all-round care at GDR public homes and schools, were orphans."

Joins UN Peacekeeping Force

LD1010123489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1126 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—With the sending of police observers to Namibia, who will be leaving Wednesday evening, the GDR will be taking part for the first time in this form in the UN peace-keeping operation. The GDR has always supported the political settlement of international conflicts and the abolition of the remnants of colonialism, said Dr Harald Rose, section head in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in an interview with ADN. This is in line with its foreign policy, which is aimed at peace, international security, and the guaranteeing of the peoples' right to self-determination. "Our country has given its solidarity and support to the efforts in the United Nations for the liberation of Namibia from the colonial yoke, as well," Dr Rose stressed.

The GDR granted a request from the UN secretary-general to provide a contingent of police observers for deployment in Namibia. The GDR, which in April 1989 was one of the first states to set up an observer mission in Windhoek and declared its willingness to take part in the UN support group for the transition of Namibia to independence (UNTAG), is thus fulfilling its responsibility as a member of the United Nations.

The police observers will have no operative police functions within the framework of the civil component of UNTAG. Dr Rose says their task is to supervise the orderly execution of their duties by the South West African Police during the transition phase. They are thereby to help ensure that the preparation and carrying out of elections to the constitutional assembly in Namibia are fair and free, this is, without intimidation and interference from any side. It is on the fulfillment of this very task that the overall success of the independence process very greatly depends, said Dr Rose. [passage omitted]

Violinist Defects in Japan, Heads for FRG

OW0910114189 Tokyo KYODO in English 1039 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Tokyo, Oct. 9 KYODO—A 29-year-old East German violinist defected in Japan and left for West Germany on Sunday, reliable sources said Monday.

The sources declined to identify the defector by name.

The musician, a male member of the Dresden Philharmonic Orchestra of East Germany, arrived in Japan on October 5 for a performance tour.

He sought refuge at the West German Embassy here Sunday morning and flew to West Germany in the evening.

Further on 8 Oct HSP Congress Proceedings

HSP Adopts Statement, Statutes

LD0910100289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] [Announcer] We now link up with the Budapest congress center, where the congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] seems to be holding its final working day. Our reporters are Miklos Martin-Kovacs and Jozsef Orosz.

[Reporter] There is a break at the moment. A few minutes ago the congress adopted the document about our historic path; it also adopted the party's program statement. Earlier, after more than an hour of debate, voting took place for the statutes of the new party. This is largely due to the fact that, meeting the demands of the delegates, voting at today's session is being directed by an assertive chairman in the person of Laszlo Kovacs.

The statutes, besides the already-known theses, contain points, like, for example, that the document can only be modified by the congress or a national party vote. All other amendments are void. Also voted on, was the HSP membership fee, which will be between 50 and 150 forints; the sum will be agreed upon by members and branch organizations. Furthermore, it was agreed that the weekly HSP paper will be called NEW FORUM; the chief editors will be appointed by the national board. Symbols of the party will be approved by the congress on the basis of the board's proposal. Thus it will be decided as to whether the red carnation should be among the symbols.

The daily [of the party] is NEPSZABADSAG, and the periodical is TARSADALMI SZEMLE. The board already has ample tasks, but election of the body [as heard] is still to take place.

Previous to the debate on the statutes, the delegates decided on speeding up the work of the congress, considering that time is short. They still have to take a stand on the questions of party property, 23 October, and the Workers' Guard. In connection with the latter, one of the delegates, on behalf of the country delegates group, proposed that it is the task of the government to decide about this armed body, because if the congress takes a stance saying that the Workers' Guard has to be disarmed, then the party would lose 50,000 members, as well as 1-150,000 voters at the elections. Another speaker considered it would be dishonest for the congress not to make a decision on the workers' guard. He said: comrades, let us save what can be saved.

Thus, there is going to be further debate about the party assets and national reconciliation. An extraordinarily important task of the congress is to decide on personnel questions and to elect the national presidium and the board, and also other bodies of the party. I hand you back to the studio.

Kotai Speaks on Party Manifesto

LD0810233189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 8 Oct 89

[From "The Week" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Yesterday Istvan Bihari, who is the managing director of a big enterprise, in his contribution [at the congress] raised the objection that virtually nothing is being said at the congress about the economic issues, which are so important from the viewpoint of our future. Geza Kotai, head of the party's Department of International Party Relations, did not say, but he might have said, that not a lot has been said about foreign political issues either in the past 2 and ½ days. If we disregard the external conditions of our transformation, that would with every certainty lead to the failure of our great undertaking. That is how he began his speech, and then continued as follows:

[Begin Kotai recording] We cannot delude ourselves that our system of international conditions is basically favorable. Neither can we paralyze our reform impetus by allowing unfriendly, moreover hostile, forces in our immediate environment to try to trip up our attempts, our changes. [applause] In the socialist world a continuous polarization is taking place. It is less and less possible to cram everything into the common category of socialism. The Hungarian democratic transition cannot be placed on a common denominator with certain police states, or with those which even today wrestle with the nightmares of two decades, or perhaps with others who describe our government's humanitarian steps as a trade in people. [applause]

Comrades, we, on the other hand, do not seek, and cannot seek, conflict with anyone, I repeat, anyone. On the contrary, the emphasis must be placed on the connecting threads of mutual interest. It is in our fundamental interest, I think, and particularly today in the wake of these decisions of historical significance, that we should preempt attempts aimed at our isolation, at interference.

However, it is also in our vital interest, comrades, that we should initiate the international coalition of reform forces. It is evident that the Soviet, Hungarian, Polish, and Yugoslav interests are common in this regard. In my judgment, the success of the Gorbachev policy is of extraordinary significance. It is in our national interest that we foster friendly relations of equal rights with the Soviet Union at all times.

However, comrades, we, the new party, the Hungarian Socialist Party, must also be prepared, in the event of perestroyka getting into difficulties, to know how to make the Hungarian processes independent of the eventual unfavorable effects of the Soviet changes. Let the new Hungarian Socialist Party prepare also for this.

It is a platitude, on the other hand, that the West is not interested in our defeat. This is true. We have to ask the question: How much and how long is it going to be interested in our successes? It can be said that the public opinion of the Western countries, their responsible government circles, other competent political forces, give a sympathetic reception to the changes in Hungary. According to the experiences so far, they welcome with pleasure everything that has happened here at the Congress until now. This is stil not enough. Capital hesitates whether to cooperate with us. [as heard] There are also those who point blank desire our failure. For this reason, the need for Hungarian modernization, the necessity of our organic linking to a developed Europe, demand that we closely cooperate in the west with all those who, on the basis of mutual advantages, are willing to participate in the creation of a democratic, stable central and Eastern Europe.

Further on Kotai Remarks

LD0810203589 Budapest MTI in English 1533 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—Contributing to the debate about the manifesto, Geza Kotai emphasized the interrelationships between the foundation of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist party] and the international environment. He expressed the conviction that it would lead to the 'failure of the great venture' if the external conditions were left out of consideration. Mr Kotai warned the delegates not to delude themselves with the hope that the international conditions are favourable. The socialist world is undergoing continuous polarization, he said. Hungary's democratic transformation should not be reduced to a common denominator with certain police states and with countries that are still wrestling with the nightmare of two decades or qualify the humanitarian steps of the Hungarian Government as man-smuggling.

Mr Kotai went on to say: We do not want conflicts with anyone. On the contrary, we lay stress on mutual interest. It is our fundamental interest to prevent all attempts at isolating us or intervening. It is our vital interest to initiate the international coalition of reform forces. The Soviet, Hungarian, Polish and Yugoslav interests are obviously common in this respect. According to Mr Kotai, the success of Gorbachev's policy is of particular importance. It is our national interest to foster in any time friendly relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of equal rights.

The changes in Hungary are welcomed by the public and the responsible governing circles of the Western countries, and other, influential political forces. At the same time, the capital is hesitant and some forces wish that we should fail. The demand for modernizing Hungary and integrating it into the advanced Europe requires us to closely cooperate with all in the West who are prepared to contribute, on the basis of reciprocal interests, to the establishment of a democratic and stable Central and Eastern Europe.

Janos Kadar Society To Form Party

LD0810112989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] The Janos Kadar Society has announced that it will become a communist party after the liquidation yesterday of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party], which groups the communists of Hungary. According to the declaration sent to Hungarian radio, they will introduce their party as early as next week.

As is known, the MSZMP Presidium had already rejected and condemned the initiative of the Janos Kadar Society.

Antoniewicz on Janos Kadar Society

LD0810164889 Budapest MTI in English 1505 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—On behalf of the Secretariat of the Provisional Central Committee of the Janos Kadar Society, First Secretary Roland Antoniewicz forwarded a letter to the HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY, saying: With the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party abolished, the Janos Kadar Society finds itself compelled to turn into a Communist Party, rallying the communists ousted from the Hungarian Socialist Party. The Secretariat convened the Provisional Central Committee for October 10 to decide on the issue. The decision is to be published in the press shortly after the session. The Secretariat requests the congressional delegates being "ousted from the Hungarian Socialist Party and wishing to join the future Communist Party" to indicate their intention to the Provisional Central Committee of the Janos Kadar Society. The letter gives a Budapest Post Office box number as the address.

Speaking to MTI's correspondent, Roland Antoniewicz pointed out that the Janos Kadar Society was formed in July but has not yet been registered. They are waiting for the party law to turn themselves into a party, in keeping with the original plan.

At the initiative of the Karl Marx Society, 14 left-wing organizations agreed at their conference a week ago to set up a coordination office. These organizations hoped that the HSWP would remain HSWP, retaining its communist character even in case of a possible change of name. Mr Antoniewicz pointed out "the cooperation of disapponted communists gains importance in the present situation." He added, however, that the society's Provisional Central Committee has decided neither on the formation of a Communist Party nor on fusion with other left-wing forces. Even when a decision is taken, it will depend on the organizations led by Robert Ribanszki and Sandor Petres whether they would join the party. They are to consult the Karl Marx society and all other left-wing forces, including the Workers' Militia. What is more: The party formed of the Janos Kadar Society is ready to join forces with members of the cooperating for the renewal of the HSWP platform, marked by the name of Janos Berecz, even if they decide, for strategic reasons, to stay in the Hungarian Socialist Party.

Kadar Widow Protests Society's Name

LD0810202589 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Excerpts] On headed notepaper, the Janos Kadar Society has sent a communique to the television service in which it announces the formation of a communist party. [passage omitted]

The magazine MAGYARORSZAG carries an interview with the wife of Janos Kadar, who considers it outrageous that this organization is making use of, and as she puts it, defaming Janos Kadar's name, and she protests most vehemently against this.

Medgyessy Undecided About HSP

LD0810113689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy has not yet decided whether he will be a member of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] which was formed yesterday, because, in his view, the compromise which has evolved is not sufficiently convincing and furthermore no clear reply has been given to questions concerning either the past or property relations.

Peter Medgyessy believes that the situation should be suitably polarized [elezni] because then the possibility of clarifying every debated issue would open up.

Medgyessy Cautious Over Future

LD0810132289 Paris Domestic Service in French 1200 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Interview with Hungarian Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy by French Radio Special Correspondent Jacques Expert on 8 October; place not specified—recorded]

[Excerpts] There is no longer a communist party on the banks of the Danube in Budapest. The Hungarian Socialist Party has replaced the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The decision was made yesterday by an overwhelming majority of the delegates present at the congress of the old party. [passage omitted] This morning our special correspondent Jacques Expert had an exclusive meeting with Peter Medgyessy, the deputy premier, a man who intends to be cautious, but also mistrustful, about the future political evolution of Hungary:

[Begin recording] [Medgyessy] I want to wait to see clearly whether it is really a victory for the reformists or not. In my view, this compromise is not completely clear. I hope it means that the reformist forces have won. But I believe we have to wait a while. I have a certain amount of mistrust, because in the reformists' words, everyone is saying that they are in favor of reforms; but when it is a matter of specific measures, then that is different.

[Expert] So, what are the obstacles to this true democratization now?

[Medgyessy] It is the conservative forces which are still in the administration, which are still in the economy, etc. There are also practical obstacles—for example, the economic situation.

[Expert] You do not think that communism was buried yesterday evening?

[Medgyessy] I, myself—no, not at all. [end recording] [passage omitted]

MSZMP's Lukacs Decides to Retire

LD0810122489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Janos Lukacs, who headed the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Central Control Committee, has announced that he is retiring. As he said, his departure can not be explained by political reasons because he agrees with the changes. At the same time, his opinion is that fresh forces are necessary for the organization. Janos Lukacs, by the way, to my knowledge is 54 years old.

Foreign Reporting of HSP Noted

LD0810161689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Correspondents dispatches from Moscow, Prague and Beijing]

[Excerpts] Moscow—Although TASS reported a few minutes after midnight [7-8 October] the news of the change of the [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, MSZMP] name, the morning Soviet papers did not report the news despite the fact that, due to Gorbachev's Berlin visit, the deadline was later than usual for the papers in Moscow yesterday. Thus, in the USSR, only the radio listeners are aware of the news and even among them only those who caught a news bulletin between 2000-2200 [Moscow time] because although the Budapest datelined report was the third item in the Soviet radio news bulletins, later it gradually slid back and after 2200 it was no longer broadcast.

PRAVDA carried several short reports—about one-fifth of what it reported yesterday—on the events of the congress. Thus it is understandable that little else found room in the few line article of the Soviet party paper than a quote from Tamas Krausz, one of the representatives of the Left Alternative, about the fact that a restoration of capitalism is threatened in Hungary.

PRAVDA cautions against extremes but—as I have mentioned—it does not report the formation of the Socialist Party, nor does IZVESTIYA, the paper of the

Soviet Government. Rather in its Budapest reporting, IZVESTIYA is trying to make up for the backlog of congress reporting. Yesterday, its Budapest correspondent did not send news about the MSZMP congress, and so today, on the basis of everything must proceed nicely in order, it familiarizes its readers with the speeches by Rezso Nyers and Karoly Grosz which they made the day before yesterday. [passage omitted]

Prague—The first sentence is not a mistake: The MSZMP Congress continues in Budapest. These were the words used in the morning broadcast of television news and it only became clear much later that a new party had been formed at the joint proposal of the Reform Alliance and the People's Democratic Platform. It was also said that the first and foremost task of the party is to prepare for the parliamentary elections. There has been no comment yet on the events, either on television or radio news, and the events were only number three or four news in both media.

On the Hvezda station of Czechoslovak Radio, which has an hourly news bulletin, the term used at 2100 was that: A majority of the MSZMP delegates agreed to the creation of the Hungarian Socialist Party. What was quoted from Rezso Nyers' speech was that the new party must dissociate itself from the previous leadership and that he expressed hope that the government would instead of comprising independent experts, constitute the government of the party. [passage omitted]

Beijing—The Chinese news agency gave a detailed and objective account of the Budapest party congress only the readers of the "CONFIDENTIAL BRIEFINGS" can learn about these because the official press publishes almost nothing. RENMIN RIBAO has reported nothing either yesterday or today on the Budapest congress.

Szuros Calls for Radical Change

LD0810142189 Budapest MTI in English 1320 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—In his contribution to the Sunday morning debate at the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] Congress, Matyas Szuros, president of the National Assembly, stated that a radical change should be equally manifest in the organizational set-up, manifesto and leadership of the new socialist party so that it can lay foundations for its long-term competitiveness and successful participation in the electoral contests. The HSP has to create an organizational framework which prevents the emergence of an oligarchy and ensures the enforcement of members' will.

Mr Szuros mentioned the separation of executive and control bodies as a further important requirement. Accordingly, a clear distinction should be made between the rights and duties of the future presidium and board. The socialist party also has to prepare itself for a multiparty system of democracy where it will be only one of the equals, though hopefully the first, he said.

Mr Szuros was of the opinion that in future parliament will be the genuine scene of political struggle and interest coordination, a standpoint that should receive far-reaching attention in the party's organizational structure and principles of leadership. The forthcoming elections make it particularly important for the party to work out an effective election programme besides the general manifesto. In addition, the order of organization of the new socialist party should allow for cooperation with the other democratic parties and movements. This will be necessary all the more so, as the interests of the entire nation can be represented and a free, democratic Hungary created only with joint effort.

Speaking about international questions, Mr Szuros said Hungary faces the historic task of reintegration into Europe. It should be clear to all that only democracies are capable of real cooperation with democracies. It will be a major duty of the socialist party to maintain good relations with the parties of the International Workers' Movement, be it the CPSU or the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party.

Mr Szuros also stressed that the socialist party should espouse the cause of all Hungarians.

Szuros Urges Separation of Duties

LD0810225489 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 89

[From "The Week" program]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] [passage omitted] I greet you, esteemed viewers. The Hungarian Socialist Party continued its congress at 0830 [0730 GMT] this morning with the debate on the statute. [passage omitted]

[Bela Fabry, Budapest delegate] I would like to announce that the Unity Platform is disbanding. We emphasized that our objective has been to rescue the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party by joining forces, without insisting on the name. We feel we have contributed to the fact that this objective has been realized. Our members, according to their conscience, may join no matter what platform, or they may remain outside platforms. For this reason I am now taking off my Unity badge. Thank you very much.

[Jozsef Fulop, Gyor-Sopron County deputy] I propose that we set aside every passage of the statute which is of a self-limiting nature, because they curb our further functioning. I will give one example. The statute declares that it is a definite demand of the party membership that the party member should belong to one or other basic organization. I consider this to be a limitation of such a nature which it is advisable to banish at al events. In some manner the party membership must also be given the right of being able to be party members also on the basis of a kind of registration. I know that what I have proposed will further increase the problem of who, after all, can be a member of this party. But I say it, comrades, that I do not consider this a problem, because the statute even so does not resolve the matter. What we have adopted, in fact, is nothing other than this: At present the goat and the cabbage are in one, and the same camp. I do not know whether the fact that the goat declares that he is a reform goat and henceforth will eat meat will resolve this issue.

[Matyas Szuros] There is no need for the intermediate level, the county level. In other words, there is no need for county party committees. There is no need for county party boards, and there is no need for county party conferences either. On the other hand, theer is a need for a county presidium of a small number, which is delegated into the county presidium [as heard] from below, on a basis of parity and not on the basis of the number of members, by the local party conferences. [passage omitted] We must create a party which in its program and leadership composition is competitive in the longer term and which can set off with a good chance in the daily struggles and also in the elections. We must shape an organizational framework which does not make it possible for new obligarchies to come into being, but which guarantees the assertion of the will of the membership, and, more importantly, one that separates the executive and controlling powers, or, in the case of a party, organs. For this reason there must be an exact separation of the rights and duties of the future presidium and board, so that there can not be a repetition of the relationship of the old Politburo and Central Committee. I consider this essential. The other thing is that in the democracy the Socialist Party, too, will be one among many. Hopefully it will be prime inter pares, or at least the strongest. The real arena of political struggle and interest coordination will be the National Assembly. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] Ivan T. Berend, who was in the chair, suspended the debate on the statute until the amendment proposals we have heard have been put in writing. The congress then started the general political debate connected with the program declaration.

County Groups Consider Manifesto

LD0810164189 Budapest MTI in English 1407 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—The county delegate groups expressed conflicting opinions about the draft manifesto, concerning party organization at places of work, the set-up of the apparatus and the role of county party organizations.

Some called for creating a regional party apparatus to replace the county organizations, while others insisted that the county organizations would invariably be necessary because of the elections, but they should have a considerably smaller apparatus of lesser authority than in the system created by the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]. There were calls for setting up a low-staffed county presidium to appoint expert apparatuses, and establishing a national secretariat of politicians aware of the problems facing the provinces. The delegate from Baranya County proposed in connection with the expansion of the statute that the Hungarian Socialist Party operate as an election party during the elections. He also proposed the party membership to consider it obligatory to support the candidates and not to engage in platform struggle until the end of the elections. Offences against this rule should carry severe penalty, he said.

The Somogy County delegate drew attention to the fact that the current draft statute sets limits to functions of the party board. another proposal called for lifting the age limit on new admissions, or for setting it at 17 years. With regard to the party's operation at places of work, some of the delegates were of the opinion that citizens should not be restricted in their right to free organization, while others argued that workplaces should not become the scene of political squabbling.

Delegates from Bacs-Kiskun County proposed that declarations of joining the new party be approved by the membership meeting, with disputed cases to be transferred to a coordination committee. They called for party membership opportunity on the basis of registration as well.

The presiding Ivan T. Berend ordered a voting on the proposal of the Zala County group of delegates that congress, changing an earlier working order decision, hold a general political debate on the manifesto. The motion was approved.

Democrats Address News Conference

LD0810175989 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—All assets originating from the state should be returned to the state, delegates elected to office in the new party should give account of their financial situation, moral purity, and will also have to give accounts of their financial situation when leaving office, to ascertain whether the situation had not changed more than is permissable—this was one of the demands formulated towards the Hungarian Socialist Party by the People's Democratic Platform, which figured prominently in the founding of the new party. The three leaders of the platform: Bela Fabri, Andras Bard and Janos Gonczi were speaking in the international press centre of the congress on Sunday afternoon, and said: At the beginning of the congress, they numbered only a few dozen, however, more than 300 delegates have joined by Sunday.

As is apparent from the name, they profess the continuation of the political development that took place in Hungary between 1945 and 1947 as their guideline. They hold themselves the heirs to the ideas of Marx, Lenin, Gyorgy Lukacs and Antonio Gramsci. For the most part, they are young people and their age distances them from the errors and crimes of the predecessor party. At the same time, they stressed they wish to continue the reform initiatives of 1953, 1957, 1972-73, and of May, 1988.

They agree with the Reform Alliance in many issues, they want democratic socialism, but their views differ with respect to the freedom of market economy and the notion of communal property. Of the current political forces in Hungary, they feel the Hungarian People's Party stands closest to them, and believe that the Social Democratic Party could be a natural ally.

In answer to questions, they said: The delegates who voted against the position that declared the founding of the HSWP are legal participants of the congress, which now is the congress of the HSP, as long as the new statute and manifesto are not approved. No one can take away the mandates of the some 180 delegates in question, they stressed and added: It should be kept in mind that their possible resistance can make the further work of the congress difficult. X X X

The second guest of the international press centre on Sunday afternoon was Lajos Gubcsi, a delegate from Zala County. He informed journalists he believes in open, democratic voting according to name, and more than 400 delegates already support this position. This, however, is still not enough for congress to change the approved working order.

Spokesman on Membership Criteria

LD0810205989 Budapest MTI in English
1753 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—Although the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] has ceased operation and a new party been founded, the delegates' decision does not exclude the members from the party. Each party member will now have a relatively short amount of time in which to decide whether or not to accept the manifesto and statutes of the new party. If he accepts them, his membership will be uninterrupted. The possibility of party members' meetings vetoing applications was also raised, but no decision has yet been reached, spokesman Janos Barabas told MTI.

Mr Barabas' personal opinion is that the majority of delegates with an active role in founding the Hungarian Socialist Party have made it clear that there are delegates with whom they would not like to cooperate within the new party. It is not yet known how an organizational solution can be found to the problem without it seeming humiliating or inquisitorial, but a way around has to be found somehow.

Delegates Interviewed on Congress

LD0910003689 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 89

[From "The Week" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Yesterday evening and today, the television reporters interviewed a good many delegates [to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party/MSZMP congress] about the events. You will also hear a constitutional lawyer, who although he is not a delegate, was asked to speak on television because we found that most people do not really understand the legal position of the new party. Julia Tardos and Jozef Hidvegi report.

[Begin recording] How do you evaluate that which happens here this evening [7 October], as a quiet transition or a victory?

[Csaba Tabajdi] This is an unequivocal historical turnabout, but I add that the hard part, the construction work, comes after this.

[Hidvegi] What will happen to those who in the end rejected, or at least—to put it more delicately—did not sympathize with that which the reform wing, or now the reform center wanted?

[Tabajdi] Yes, that which was the reform wing yesterday, is today the center of this renewing new party, more precisely this new party, the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. As to what will become of those people who do not agree with this poliicy, I think it is their sovereign right to decide this.

[Hidvegi] Did you in fact construct a new party, or was there just a change of name?

[Tabajdi] What is significant is the election of leaders, and it is of at least as much significance to Hungarian society that either the HSP wishes to give back the decisive majority of the hitherto Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] assets to whom it should go, to Hungarian society, and the parliament should distribute this and determine to which purposes it should go. [as heard] Of course, there will be debate about this. There will also be debate about the Workers' Guard, but I think that inasmuch as they ask those concerned too, the relations of the HSP to the Workers' Guard must be completely unequdivocal.

That which was up to now a very debated political question, the presence at the workplaces, well, that is a question no longer existing in the form in which it was up to now, for this party here will have new members. Everyone must clarify here whether they wish to join or not, and after this statement of intent, that is when they decide, we will start to organize the base organizations in villages, towns, districts, that is according to living areas.

For us to be able to appear in front of Hungarian society unequivocally, credibly, as a new force, we must also settle these still pending questions.

[Tardos] Many people here in the corridors and inside in the hall too think you are a man of the future in the HSP. What kind of future do you intend for this party, and above all the party's membership?

[Pal Vastagh] Regarding the party's future, my view is that this party is capable of adapting and will be capable of adapting to the relations of the multi-party system, and will gain enough support at the coming elections to be able to have a say in the formation of the development of the country as a serious party, capable of coalition.

[Tardos] Tell me, on what do you base this optimism? For every member now has to confirm their intention of remaining in the new party.

[Vatagh] I trust that this progam and this mode of operating which we are now debating can find wide-ranging support within the party. A lot of explaining is needed for this; much work of clarification must be carried out so that party members will be able to really accept this, both intellectually and emotionally.

[Tardos] In the Villanyi Street Educational Center, party members are listening to the events of the congress. The information circulating here in the building is that they do not yet quite know what kind of party they will be members of after this, if they undertake this. They simply do not understand the situation, they woke up one morning belonging to another party. Do you want to explain this somehow, do you have a concept for this?

[Vastagh] The coming days and weeks will be very important. As to what kind of party this is, and what it will take with it from its past and legacy, I think we outlined that conceptually quite well yesterday. This is contained in this standpoint, but the formulation and the piece of paper will not yet convince people that this really is a progressive left-wing party representing wide social interests, which is committed to a socialist perspective, development perspective.

[Tardos] This is too little, for they say they do not know where to put it. This first document in practice denied the communist past, or the word communist; it has not completely taken on social democracy. To what is it similar?

[Vastagh] I did not interpret this as having completely denied the communist legacy. There were things it denied from the ideology of this, the practice of power (?based) on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and democratic centralism in the functioning of the party. Positive communist legacies are being taken further by this party, too.

[Tardos] To conclude with corridor gossip, do you also think that you are a man of the future in this party?

[Vastagh] I feel that quite a few people support me in a well-intentioned way. As to what result this will bring, I hope we will known this in a few hours.

[Hidvegi] How do you see it? Will this new party be able to represent all that with which the Reform Alliance wished to form a new party?

[Keserue, Reform Alliance] In part, for the reason why the Reform Alliance started its work at all—and not just the Reform Alliance but the Reform Circles—had two aims. One is to restructure the party so that a violent rollback could not start out from this party. I do not yet see the formation of a party suitable for the offensive representation of left-wing values, in that which was created here, in this compromise.

[Hidvegi] What can be the guarantee for this, in the new organizational set-up, or also in the personnel questions?

[Keserue] The MSZMP could be the guarantee for this, that is if there were an MSZMP, which would accept that two parties were created here; one which carries further the hitherto MSZMP in practice in an unchanged way, or in a touched-up way, and another party which would be unequivocally completely different. All those who insist on the party buildings and so on—although there is only a small chance of this—if all those could sit there, keep their writing desks, and we had to create a new party from nothing, then this chance would be created. This is why it is an important question whether there will be an MSZMP.

[Hidvegi] Yes, it is now 1100 [1000 GMT] on Sunday; there is still a possibility for this at this congress, I think.

[Keserue] Yes, except it is conceivable; the greatest fear is that the Socialist Party will be the MSZMP.

[Tardos] Is the People's Democratic Platform satisfied with this solution, namely that the party lives on as the Socialist Party now?

[Tamas Krausz, People's Democratic Platform] This document which the congress accepted yesterday is the result of compromise of course; it was the meeting point of various currents. In this sense, naturally, we are satisfied, for the possibility of a left-wing mass party has successfully been preserved.

[Tardos] Are you sure about this, that people will go over? For with this, we are forcing the members to go over.

[Krausz] We are not forcing anybody to any kind of going over, for party membership is continuous. All that needs to be declared, with a signature, is that the person accepts the statute and the party program.

[Tardos] How would this platform like to see this party? As a classic social democratic party, a Western-type communist party, socialist? We should have some point of comparison.

[Krausz] Since this is a new left-wing party, it is quite obvious that there can be no kind of dominant current of direction. Quite simply, we must possess a tolerance within the party so that the left-wing currents can fit in. It has transpired, at yesterday's voting too, that naturally the liberal and conservative extremes will slip away from the party. it was shown at the voting too that only small, narrow groups opposed the document, on both the right wings, as we usually put it...

[Tardos, interrupting] What do you mean by the two right wings?

[Krausz] The conservative current which does not understand that the old tradition excelled itself by eroding democracy, and that this can in no way be interpreted as a left-wing legacy. So, the destruction of democracy, in my view, is not left-wing. The other...

[Tardos, interrupting] This is what public opinion considers extreme leftist.

[Krausz] Well, this is a different matter, that public opinion too will have to get used to the new terminology. [The other] is the liberal wing which thinks that a Western-type bourgeois democracy can be realized in Hungary. Well, it was proven today that this is sheer illusion. Those who are captives of this illusion, that the Hungarian people need some new kind of elite rule of this nature will obviously leave the MSZMP. [as heard] There are so many parties today in Hungary [corrects himself] I mean the HSP, that they will certainly find their place in other political groupings which openly want the restoration of capitalism in Hungary. [passage omitted]

[Tardos] Very many people were waiting for you this morning, the journalists first and foremost. You were late. The rumor is going round that the reason you were late is that you were discussing something else, somewhere else. Is this true?

[Janos Berecz] No, I was not in discussions somewhere else. I was resting a little, and I was thinking. This morning I met no one before coming here. I was thinking.

[Tardos] [Words indistinct] another party?

[Berecz] What do you mean, another party? Well, I dont know whether there is a Hungarian Socialist Workers'... er, Hungarian Socialist Party, because they have declared its formation but the membership alone will decide on this. If the overwhelming majority, or the significant part, of the membership decides to remain members of the Hungarian Socialist Party, I will stay with them.

[Tardos] What do you think, should the membership be asked to vote here after all, in that case?

[Berecz] the membership will at all events vote, whether we call it a party vote or no, because there is a deadline by which it must decide what it wants to do.

[Tardos] Yesterday you spoke on a number of occasions and made several proposals. Among these some were rejected but there were some which were adopted. You were the one, if I remember correctly, who came out in favor of the expression: reform communist.

[Berecz] That is right.

[Tardos] What communist values do you consider it necessary to retain?

[Berecz] Ideological fidelity, commitment to the people, a decisive bearing, courage, and internal solidarity. This is what was missing the most in our party in the past period: internal solidarity. The membership did not support each other, did not support the leaders; there was dissension between the leaders. I say it again: internal solidarity and responsibility toward one another.

[Tardos] If I remember correctly, you were, when all is said and done, an active participant in the dissension.

[Berecz] I was an active participant in so far as the reason I passed out of the leadership was because I took it seriously that after long hours of debate we took joint decisions, and I believed that we would always implement this joint decision.

[Tardos] Could it happen that you will again get onto one platform, perhaps into one party, with those from whom you parted at that time?

[Berecz] To get into one party, that could happened to get onto one platform, that is not absolutely necessary, because reform is something I take very seriously, after all. Only not as demagogy, and not as reform vanity, but as a tool which is now indispensable for the realization of socialism.

[Tardos] In that case, what kind of party and what kind of Hungary do you envision, briefly?

[Berecz] I envision a democratic and a socialist Hungary. For the time being [I envision] a Hungarian Socialist Workers' party, if the significant part of the membership stays there. Later on it is conceivable that it will simply be a workers' party.

[Tardos] Yes, but then does your interest now lie in going into party membership?

[Bercz] No, my interest lies in going back to the place where they elected me a delegate: I will consult with them. Afterward we can decide jointly, after some kind of understanding, with all those who want to say in the MSZMP.

[Tardos] We had a prior discussion, if you like an argument, you and I. This was about the party rift. You remember, don't you?

[Berecz] Yes, yes.

[Tardos] At that time you disagreed with me. I asked whether it would not have been better to bring about a party rift earlier, because then the power relations would have clarified and then the two halves, or two parts, of the party would have prepared for the elections better, in a more clarified form. You then rejected this in the most decisive way possible.

[Berecz] Look, one lives and learns, they say. What is more, it is better if one learns until one dies. We should have learned by the Polish example that the economic, social, and political crisis, and the crisis of confidence, will lead to a party crisis in the end. I thought the party crisis was avoidable. It is a pity I worked for this. It should have happened sooner, and the picture would be clearer now.

[Tardos] Does this self-criticism form part of the image of a professional politician today?

[Berecz] By now it must form part of it.

[Tardos] Are you going back into the session chamber now?

[Berecz] Yes.

[Tardos] For the time being as a party member, or delegate, or...

[Berecz, interrupting] As a delegate. Because in spite of the fact that there has been a different decision, my mandate is valid up to the end of the congress, nevertheless. It is possible that in the end I will not take part in some kind of vote.

[Tardos] How far does the formation of the Socialist Party, of a new party, in other words, help our international endeavors, from the aspect now of the country's interests?

[Geza Kotai] I think in a certain sense it can play the role of catalyst. At all events I would stress that the former party too, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, too, had considerable international prestige. In June of this year Rezso Nyers took part in the congress of the Socialist International in Stockholm, and we are having serious discussions about joining the Socialist International. In fact, this was confirmed yesterday by Imre Pozsgay.

[Tardos] Therefore, you are all hoping that the Socialist International will admit this party, except that our immediate neighbors happen not to belong to it. What can we expect there?

[Kotai] Look, the differences already in our day are so great between the allied parties and countries committed to reforms, and between those who are not committed to reforms, that we must take notice of this. Our most important task is that we should never subordinate the Hungarian national interest to some other falsely formulated, falsely understood, national interest, or perhaps to a distortedly formulated internationalist interest.

[Tardos] Finally, during the time of the congress you hopped across for 1 day to Berlin, the GDR capital. Did anyone there ask you what is going on in Budapest? Did you notice some kind of reaction among the partners?

[Kotai] No. Perhaps there are two explanations for this. One is that they know us, and our congress had then only just begun. The other is that I have to say that what preoccupied the GDR partners, colleagues, were the issues connected with the 40th anniversary, with Mikhail Gorbachev's arrival, with the anticipated speeches, and issues of this kind. It is obvious, though, that our GDR partners do not agree with very many things that happen here. But it's alright for them to have an opinion; but as for what we do, what we consider correct, this is our sovereign right to decide.

[Unidentified correspondent] A kind of political stalemate situation has evolved here, as if many people had regretted this (? big unity) having come into being. The representatives are here of those from whose manifestations in the former party structure, party practice, I think, the new party wants to disassociate itself, and was wanting to disassociate itself from them, by bringing a new party into being.

[Csaba Hamori] I think that for the new party to be really new, a bit of time is still required. This time, I am convinced, will be sufficient so that those should not join for whom our concept is alien, so they should not confirm their membership by giving their signature. I consider the decision we made yesterday to have a serious cleansing effect. [end recording]

[Announcer] We now connect the congress, to find out whether Julia Tardos has anything new to say.

[Tardos] [passage omitted] The topic of the debate is what will the party's program, basic statutes be like. However, not only during the recesses is politicizing going on in the corridors, and not only by the delegates; this often goes on during the session. I should like, rather, to report n this. There are some who believe they know when the former MSZMP will split, while others deny the fact that there might be a split. There are some who feel that, defining it scientifically, as a politologists, it can be said that we are living through historical days, because the outlines of a socialist party are appearing, about which many people have written in science, Kautsky, Bernstein, and other scholars. That is, it unifies the earlier workers' movements, all of the forces of the left-wing, except it is a question whether this will be first such case in the world, since there has not yet been an example of this. Are there enough level-headed minds for this, and another question is what is good: compromise or a split?

Karoly Grosz did not speak to Hungarian Television. However, he was a very bigh star among the foreign correspondents. As i heard, he did not really commit himself, at the most, as a private person, and not in favor of the new Hungarian Socialist Party.

There are reports; let me add that they are unreliable: The Marxist Unity Platform has promised to disband now, but Ribanszki is believed to be seen in action in various parts of the city. I do not believe that whether it is true or not is what is decisive. What is, presumably, is that the platforms are gathering together with growing frequency during the recesses. The largest one is the Reform Alliance.

In the afternoon, Attila Agh, Ferenc Gazso were tough. They said that the former leaders must be [word indistinct], and that they should be taken over into the new party only after a decision is taken by an ethics committee. Even this was too little for Imre Keserue. Yet Imre Pozsgay was level-headed, and he spoke, at this same reform-gathering about the interests of the country, the nation. He said that a good basic statutes and a good party program were important, but at least as important, significant were the government's ability to operate, and the current parliament's work which, by means of its laws, would facilitate a peaceful transition.

Finally, names, since that is how we are—personnel issues do not leave us in peace.. The platforms and the county groups of delegates are slowly compiling their own lists, and since it will be an election by list, perhaps some will come in tomorrow. However, the largest two platforms , the Reform Alliance and the People's Democratic Platform have more than ⅔ majority here in the hall. I believe that is worthwhie for say more regarding their lists, than regarding their gossip. The president is unequivocally Rezso Nyers. This is proposed not only by the two platforms, but, according to estimates, by some 90 percent of the delegates. According to reports, figuring on both platforms' lists are Miklos Nemeth, Imre Pozsgay, Pal Vastagh. The reformists, for example, propose Maria Ormos, Csaba Vas, Ferenc Kosa and others. The people's democrats propose (Janosi) Janos Goenczi, and both propose very many new names. Well, we have been informed that the 17 or 21-member presidium will consist of these names. However, I have also heard that more than 80 names are now circulating in conversations and on lists submitted to the nominating committee, so that the new members of the HSP Presisium should come from among them. That is what I know right now, not only in the session hall but in the corridor. I imagine we will know more about these issues tomorrow.

Nyers Elected HSP Chairman

LD0910183489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1811 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Report by Peter Laszlo and Jozsef Orosz from the Hungarian Socialist Party Congress in Budapest.]

[Excerpts] Rezso Nyers has become chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP].

Although the closed session in which decisions on personnel issues are being made is still in progress, several delegates in the corridor have confirmed this in answer to our question.

As for the details, Rezso Nyers obtained precisely 1,065 votes—there were only a few abstentions, at least that is what they are saying in the corridor.

Rezso Nyers' being elected chairman with over 87 percent of the vote did not cause any particular susprise since he was the only candidate. [passage omitted]

According to our information, the debate at the closed session of the HSP is about the composition of other leading bodies. The presidium is expected to be 24 strong. What we know from delegates is that the Procedural Committee [ugyrendi bizottsag] has proposed that the HSP should not have any deputy chairmen.

A decision is to be made shortly whether to adopt or reject this proposal—or they may decide after the interval. Support for the idea would mean that the HSP statute formed the day before would need to be amended.

Berecz Rejects HSP Membership

LD0810200189 Budapest MTI in English 1813 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—Janos Berecz, a senior member of the 'cooperating for the renewal of the HSWP' [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] platform, made a statement to MTI on the situation emerging after the foundation of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

Mr Berecz said, 'the party forum will be followed by a party vote in which each party member will have to decide whether to remain in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party or go over to the Hungarian Socialist Party.'

'We're staying in the HSWP, and I hope the majority of members will do the same. Quite a number of party members are unaware that they will not be admitted to the new party,' Mr Berecz said. To justify his view, he recalled that at its Sunday meeting, the Reform Alliance had thrown unjust and inadmissible epithets at a group of party members.

Mr Berecz dissociated himself from the Janos Kadar Society (JKS), which intends becoming a party, and from JKS leader Roland Antoniewicz' statement that, 'I'm ready to join forces with the members of the platform led by Janos Berecz.' Reconfirming his previous statement, Mr Berecz said that any form of cooperation with Roland Antoniewicz is quite out of the question. 'Someone who glorifies the Korean situation and Kim Il-Song has no business uttering the name of Janos Kadar,' Mr Berecz said.

Berecz, Keseru on Party Future

AU1010143489 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Oct 89 pp 4-5

[Interview with MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz and Imre Keseru, member of the Reform Alliance, by correspondent identified as "P.L." in the Congress Center in Budapest on 7 October]

[Text] We asked Janos Berecz, the leading figure of the "Cooperation for the MSZMP" platform, and Imre Keseru, teacher from Szentes and member of the Reform Alliance, about what they agree and what they disagree on. We were also curious to know their opinions about the creation of a new socialist party or about the possibility for the MSZMP to continue as a renewed party.

Janos Berecz: "I would participate in a renewed Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] if a new socialist party emerged along with it and if Comrade Rezso Nyers were to make it clear whether he wants to go along with the reform-communists or whether the MSZMP—or the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]—is rejecting the communist traditions in every respect. By the renewal of the existing party, I mean the acceptance of the program declarations which has now been submitted to the congress. This would be a substantial renewal for the party. I can also support a new party statute. It is not a question of principle for me whether, in the case of a renewed program, the party renews itself under the current name or under a new name. I am sorry that Attila Agh, one of the leaders of the reform circles, called me a closet conservative. We have been working together for years and represented a modern way of thinking, for example, on the issues of international relations and foreign policy. The majority of the reform circles played an extremely useful role in the party and they confronted opinions and views, something that did not characterize the MSZMP earlier. I do not agree with the extremist wing of the reform circles which says that, no matter how many members remain, the essential thing is to create a new party with new members. We still have 700,000 party members and they have not yet decided on what name they should give to the party.

"Imre Keseru also belongs to this extremist wing of the reform circles. I do not agree with the anticommunist tone of his speech. In fact he said that there is an anticommunist mood and attitude in our society because, allegedly, we behave in a communist way. Stalinism is another matter. Nor do I agree with his attack against the Workers Militia. I cannot agree with his impatient confrontation with the decisive majority of the party members."

Imre Keseru: "I was not being ironical when I said in my speech that I agreed with Janos Berecz on three issues. For example, I agree that the MSZMP should not remain the old party, that we should not abuse the word "reformer," and finally, that we do not have to break the MSZMP up, but those who do not agree with the renewal, should leave the party.

"In all the other issues, I do not agree with Janos Berecz. For example, Janos Berecz is a communist, and I am a socialist. We cannot maintain a ruling form which can be salvaged with a little cosmetics and with a "slightly new" leadership. At the same time, I do not want to stop him creating such a party. Do that, Janos Berecz, if you want, but I do not want to be part of that. If the majority at the congress decide that they want a Berecz-type party, I will not argue with them or try to persuade them, but I want to create another party.

"However, Janos Berecz is right that Rezso Nyers should decide which party he would like. Briefly: My opinion is that Rezso Nyers should take sides and have a clearcut message.

"As for Janos Berecz, the list of issues on which I do not agree with him would be very long. I do not agree with what he has done so far: the Writers' Association, the evaluation of 1956. Janos Berecz has the right to turn into Paul from Saul, but he does not have the right to lead a Saul-party as Paul. The fact that I am not a communist, does not mean that I am anticommunist. I protest against Janos Berecz' opinion about me according to which I used anticommunist tones in my speech. An anticommunist is one who fights against the communists. I do not fight against them. It is another matter that I do not regard Robert Ribanszki as a communist. The extremist minority is not communist, but Stalinist. Unfortunately, the great majority of members have not yet noticed that the communist principles drawn up in 1917 have become obsolete. I do not want to destroy or persuade these people. Communists have the same right to exist as I do, as a socialist. I am fighting against Stalinists.

Pozsgay Warns Against Extremism

LD0810200689 Budapest MTI in English 1856 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—The largest platform, the Reform Alliance, held a meeting during the afternoon break in the congress.

Most of the speakers did not feel the compromise reached on Saturday—the declaration of the foundation of a new party—was satisfactory. They called on reform alliance delegates to see to it that the results of the party forum reflect an even more radical break with the policy to date and its representatives and followers.

Reacting to the contributions, Imre Pozsgay warned against the danger of solutions 'we might eventually be ashamed of, as they contradict humanism and the european way of thinking'. Mr Pozsgay said he accepts that ethical norms and rules should be created, and even goes along with 'declaring that a group of people have no place among us'. At the same time, he stressed, that, 'decent, honest people should be given time to change'.

A homogeneous party leadership capable of cooperation, and operating on the basis of the joint manifesto of the reform platform and the Reform Alliance should be created. At the same time, the government should be preserved, as it can still keep the country in a governable condition. The National Assembly should also be preserved, so that it can pass the laws needed for a peaceful transition, should this parliament break down, then an 'ex lex situation and dictatorship will prevail in the country', Mr Pozsgay said.

Nemeth Dispells Resignation Rumors

LD0810205389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Let us look at what is happening at this moment at the congress. Julia Tardos reports.

[Tardos] I will begin by saying that if it goes on in this way, neither the congress nor today's session will end very soon. Voting now is being called for on every individual detail related to the basic statutes. The voting is rather slow because it is somewhere half-way between computerized voting and that which is controlled by hand. They count the votes between the aisles and this is fed into the computers. This is how they are somehow tallied up and end up on the screen.

What is worthwhile to say, since perhaps not everyone has heard, is that Miklos Nemeth spoke unexpectedly. He stepped forth in front of the delegates, as premier, and said that he knew that there was gossip in the corridors that at least four ministers had left the government: Please, this is not true. The government is able to function and everything is unchanged in this matter. Thus, Miklos Nemeth denied the gossip.

There is gossip in abundance. Let me say something else. In "The Week" [Budapest TV program] a few minutes ago I said that the view was that 90 percent would propose Rezso Nyers as chairman, if personnel issues were discussed. There are some who do not confirm this, since they say that either too many compromises or too few compromises are being reached at this congress in order to accept Rezso Nyers. Rezso Nyers himself did not speak about this in circles where I have been, although they are trying to (?exchange) words with everyone among the journalists.

So, for the time being, the situation is extremely uncertain, regarding the channel in which the debate is flowing. What is certain is that the personnel issues will not be dealt with this evening. It is certain that every platform, every county has submitted their list, and on these are known, identical names—such as, for example, Imre Pozsgay and Miklos Nemeth. Pal Vastagh figures on both lists, but with differing emphasis. Interestingly, the Reform Alliance is beginning not to support the nomination of Pal Vastagh, while the People's Democratic Platform is putting him increasingly on its banner. So this congress is rich in unexpected turns. However, I believe that it will be tomorrow evening, at the earliest, when we learn what this will bring for the country, since to date, the predecessor party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, was the largest party, and what its successor, the Hungarian Socialist Party, will bring. The debates and the counting is still going on. I hand you back to the studio.

Bekesi Calls for Market Economy

LD0810220289 Budapest MTI in English 1939 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—Contributing to the debate about the draft manifesto, Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi expressed the conviction that the market should be developed rather than restricted in Hungary.

It was not the market that endangered the economy, but state intervention and the exaggerated role of the monopolistic organizations. As a consequence, wastefulness continued and restructuring remained slow even in the crisis, he said.

Mr Bekesi went on to say that the restoration of capitalism in the economy was not something to be feared. It was far more important to fight poverty than enrichment, he said. Private property and foreign capital were required in the interest of the whole country. Capitalist efficiency and discipline should be enforced in production, and social principles in distribution.

In conclusion, Mr Bekesi emphasized that the new party should not make rash promises. In the short run, there was no chance of a general, rapid economic development, it was impossible to guarantee full employment, raise the standard of living, or suppress inflation drastically. What the party could promise, though, was that it would contribute to transforming the economy and making it more efficient, increasing social security, halting the decrease in the living standards and preventing inflation, already in two figures, from getting any higher.

Grosz Interviewed at Congress Break

AU0910182589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Oct 89 p 2

[Interview with Karoly Grosz, by unidentified correspondent: "I Will Retire, but I Remain a Reform Communist"—in the Congress Center in Budapest on 7 October]

[Text] [Question] Following the address by Janos Berecz, do you continue to maintain your decision to retire?

[Grosz] Yes, my decision is unchanged. If the party splits, the political trend which I represent will also need a new leadership, a young, talented, and enterprising leadership which does not have to carry the burden or mistakes made by a previous leadership. The new alternative will not change my decision. Of course, both as a communist and as party member, it is very important whom I support; I support the position of the reform-communists. In harmony with my previous decision, I will endeavor to make as many members as possible accept this position.

[Question] Thus, you obviously will not register with the Hungarian Socialist Party which is currently being formed.

[Grosz] No, I will not, because I will "register" with the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

[Question] Then, this is the moment of a party split for you.

[Grosz] I would not say that. I have now expressed my opinion about the theses of the reform association. If a party split occurs, it will happen at the voting. I will then decide where I belong.

[Question] Recently you said that you regret that the party split did not materialize in February. Now, all your activity in this congress so far has been directed at avoiding such a split. How come?

[Grosz] There is no contradiction here. Only the mass media misinterpreted my speech in Salgotarjan. They picked up 90 seconds out of a speech of 80 minutes. I was asked there about my evaluation of the decision made in February. I said that there was an opportunity then, and we could have split the party then. However, I continue to believe that a party should split over its future, rather than on its past. As for the future program, it is not yet ripe. For me, the rift lies where Janos Berecz clearly pointed out: Will the new party be able to accept the communist past and values? So far, I have not received an answer to this question in this debate. All I wanted, and my entire report was based on this, was to prevent a split in the party and to also include social democratic values along with the communist values in the continuing party. In this respect, I am close to Rezso Nyers who wants to create a new synthesis of communist and social-democratic values. This congress should declare the intention to create such a synthesis. Either it declares this, or it splits the party. These are the alternatives for me too at the moment.

[Question] What is your mood now?

[Grosz] I am in a very good mood. Four months ago I declared that the party leadership should take into account that I would not participate in the party guidance as a career party worker. I will gladly accept tasks as a volunteer worker, if conditions develop which I can accept. If not, I will have to seek another solution. In other words: I will find my place either in another party, or as a non-party member. The tension within me is not my personal matter. What will the fate of the movement be? Will a compromise emerge with which thousands of party members can agree? How will the broad public react to the decisions made here? We do not know yet the precise answers to these questions.

Nyers Interviewed During Break

AU1010141489 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Oct 89 p 1

[Unattributed report on interview with Rezso Nyers, by unidentified NEPSZABADSAG reporter: "Belonging to the Party Is a Political Decision—Rezso Nyers Gives Interview to NEPSZABADSAG"—in the Congressional Center in Budapest, on 7 October]

[Text] NEPSZABADSAG was a guest in Rezso Nyers' working room in the Congressional Center during a break in the congress proceedings on 7 October. Making use of the opportunity, we asked Chairman Rezso Nyers' opinion about the speech given by Janos Berecz a few minutes earlier.

"One of the extremely important questions for me is whether the new reform-communists have a place in the new party"—Rezso Nyers said. "Clearly everyone who accepts this program and statute has a place in this party. It is obvious that we need the reform-communists. Why should we be worse than the Italian Communist Party in this respect?"

Asked whether there will be one party or two, Rezso Nyers said that this was the most important issue, and it is unfortunate to approach this issue emotionally. "Most of the party members also have emotional ties to their party, and they need time and opportunities to be able to decide. Politically, the new party is the successor of the MSZMP, but the new party will not continue the policy of the MSZMP, and the party members should have the opportunity to decide. The party meeting is the most suitable forum for deciding for those who accept the statute and the program of this party. Those who do not want to become members of the new party should be given the opportunity to give a negative answer."

In connection with this, Rezso Nyers mentioned the proposal according to which the party members should simply declare their intention to belong to the new party by paying the membership fee for December. Without categorically refusing this proposal, Rezso Nyers pointed out that this is a traditionally primary political decision, and the aforementioned party meeting is the logical venue for such a decision. "Every member of the basic organization can participate in this meeting"—Rezso Nyers said. Answering an interpolated question, he said that he did not incline to have those who are now wishing to join the party—and who are very much needed—participate in this meeting. Rezso Nyers noted half jokingly and half seriously that, just like others who were afraid of "crypto-communists," we would not like it either if people with hidden intentions were to join our party. Rezso Nyers stressed again the importance of an open party which offers a place for everyone who comes with honest intentions and agrees with our goals. However, increasing the number of party members is not a goal in itself; the essential thing is to win the voters and the elections.

Answering a question about a split in the party, Rezso Nyers said that the creation of a communist party sooner or later is both logical and natural.

Asked about his opinion about NEPSZABADSAG, Rezso Nyers protested and said he could not be objective because he reads NEPSZABADSAG daily, and this in itself is already a judgment. Learning about the NEPSZABADSAG's objectives, Rezso Nyers also agreed that this newspaper has a future as a socialist newspaper.

Further on HSP Statutes Debate

LD0910080189 Budapest MTI in English 2249 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—Mistrust in the previous structures and forms of direction was a recurring element in the debate about the draft statutes. The demand was raised that the party's statutes should include guarantees for preventing a repetition of the previous incorrect practice.

Delegates went through the draft item by item, and held separate votes on the debated items.

They decided that the draft statutes should declare:

The party is a Marxist political organization, one which fully accepts the universal values of human developmnt, humanism, freedom and democracy. It continues the lasting traditions of the socialist and communist movement, and professes the principles of solidarity, social justice, and respect for work that brings about value, as its own. It relies on the historical traditions and values of the Hungarian people, it is one of the heirs to the best efforts of Hungarian progress, to the ideas of nation and progress, and to the idea of the common fate of the Danube peoples. Its activity is meant to serve the nation as a whole. It is a party of those who share incomes on the basis of their work, a party of small entrepreneurs.

The Hungarian Socialist Party wishes to maintain close and integral relations both with the central and East European left-wing parties striving for reforms, and the world's reform communist, socialist and social democratic parties.

A heated debate came about regarding the issue of the party's organization within places of employment.

Rezso Nyers spoke in favour of upholding the right of organization at places of work, and added that the ultimate decision lay in the hands of parliament. The party movement should gradually be shifted to residential areas, and should mainly continue organization at residential areas. The party will withdraw from places of employment as the situation develops, but members should be able to stay on where they want to, he said.

In the debate over the relevant point of the draft manifesto, delegates approved the version according to which basic organizations can be set up amidst lawful frameworks according to undetermined organizational principles. However, organization that adheres to parliamentary MP constituencies and council member districts is recommended. (The 107 delegates voting against the proposal included Imre Pozsgay, Miklos Nemeth and Gyula Horn.)

The delegates approved that the congress was the party's supreme representational and decision-making body, no other body can replace it in its functions. The congress should be convened by the National Presidium if needs be, but at least once a year. It should also be convened if 10 per cent of the membership, or the national board, so initiate.

The national board is the representational and controlling body of the party membership in the period between two congresses. The national board meets in session as needed, but at least four times a year. Under the decision, the National Presidium is the leading national body of the party, and will have 17 to 21 members.

The debate was suspended at 10.45 p.m. on Sunday, and will be continued on Monday.

9 Oct Congress Proceedings, Debate Continues

Statute Debate Resumes

*LD0910092289 Budapest MTI in English
0826 GMT 9 Oct 89*

["HSP Congress-Monday session—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, October 9 (MTI)—On Monday morning, the delegates to the congress resumed the debate, adjourned late at night on Sunday, on the draft statutes of the Hungarian Socialist Party at the Budapest convention centre. During the day, they are to debate and approve the new HSP manifesto, and elect the leading bodies and officials of the party at a closed session.

Membership Rules, Dues Approved

*LD0910110589 Budapest MTI in English
1031 GMT 9 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 9 (MTI)—On Monday, at the congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party, delegates approved the HSP statutes and the rules on appointments and membership dues.

They also passed a decision on the suggested monthly membership dues, which will range from 50 to 150 forints, based on an agreement between the party member and the organization. The suggested payment for people with monthly incomes under 5,000 forints is 50 forints. Members are free to pay more than that, though.

A vote was also passed that the party's symbol should be approved by the congress, but for the moment, the national board is to make a decision. Delegates recommended a red carnation as the party logo.

Pozsgay Asks for Document Adoption

*LD0910110189 Budapest MTI in English
1037 GMT 9 Oct 89*

["HSP" Congress - Draft Manifesto"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, October 9 (MTI)—The congress passed two important documents on Monday morning, as put forward by Imre Pozsgay: One on "our historical path", and the other, the manifesto of the Hungarian Socialist Party, which was approved without debate.

In his proposal of recommendation, Mr Pozsgay stressed: 'This document, worthy of the European left wing and the history of socialist movements, will be our own identity card.' He also asked for authorization from the delegates for the would-be presidium to carry out potential stylistic and other minor modifications to the document.

Delay in Personnel Issue Discussion

LD0910120189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] We go back to the Budapest Congress center, where Peter Laszlo and Jozsef Orosz report.

[Laszlo] The reason for the postponement of the closed session, at which personnel questions will be discussed, has become known.

Ivan Vitanyi, a member of the Reform Alliance, said: It is an open secret that Rezso Nyers, Imre Pozsgay, Gyula Horn, and Miklos Nemeth are having talks behind the scenes because, as rumor has it, there are differences between them. The Congress decided that those concerned should give an account, in 10 minutes each and behind closed doors, at the time of the debate of the personnel questions, on what they are discussing behind the backs of the delegates, and on the essence of their points of differences and agreement.

Uncertainty Over Personnel Discussion

LD0910133789 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Miklos Martin-Kovacs report from Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) Congress in Budapest]

[Excerpt] The HSP has a program and basic statutes, but it does not have elected leaders. At present, there is a recess in the consultation. Earlier, the delegates decided, with 741 votes against, 426 votes to meet in closed session regarding the issue that at the moment appears most important: personnel matters. They also decided that before voting might begin they would instruct four leading politicians to inform the delegates about the negotiations so far, which to a large extent had taken place behind the scenes, or at the most at the platform-debates, and about the alleged disputes between them. Thus, Rezso Nyers, Imre Pozsgay, Gyula Horn, and Miklos Nemeth will state their stands, in 10 minutes each. Laszlo Varga, who was chairing, interpreted this is as meaning that this phrase of the consultation would be closed, since it touches on personnel issues. Several people hesitantly objected to this.

What is a fact is that there was no separate voting over whether what the four politicians had to say should be heard publicly or at a closed session. The standpoints voiced in the corridor, regarding this matter, are rather divided.

By the way, a representative of the independent delegates objected that those who do not belong to platforms hardly know anything about the negotiations. At the consultation, it is still necessary to shape the HSP stand on party property, national reconciliation and 23 October. [passage omitted]

Ruling Bodies Created

LD0910120889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Excerpts] We go over to the Budapest Congress Center. Peter Laszlo and Jozsef Orosz report from the meeting of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

The congress, instead of the closed session on personnel issues, continued its work with the debate of various questions after the break. It has just been announced, by the way, that the platform for the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] has ceased its activity.

Before this, the delegates accepted the party's statutes and programe statement. [passage omitted]

In the statutes it was also laid down that the Central Committee should be replaced by a National Board [valasztmany], which will supervise the work of the National Presidium [elnokseg], which is to be created in place of the four-man party presidium. Furthermore, they also created the National Coordinatilng Committee [egyeztetoe bizottsag] as a successor of the Central Control Committee, and they entrusted the Central Financial Supervisory Committee [penzuegyi ellenorzoe bisottsag] with handling the party's assets. [passage omitted]

The delegates accepted the political evaluation on the lessons of the past 40 years. This document confirms that the people's uprising broke out in 1956 against the system of power which had become alienated from the people. Evaluating the Kadarist policies, they assessed the 60's and 70's as an unparalleled upswing, noting that the rollbacks in 1972 and 1974 demonstrated the limitations of the Kadarist policy. Furthermore they stated that the directives of the 13th congress of the MSZMP led to a serious failure.

Karoly Grosz, speaking not only about personnel questions, said to journalists in the corridor that, in his opinion, the process of reaching agreement was being carried out above the heads of the congress delegates, in their name.

The People's Democratic Platform expressed the opinion that Rezso Nyers, as heir apparent tdo the post of party chairman, should distance himself from certain politicians.

The Reform Alliance insists on its long-represented principles, in personnel issues too,. However, it is willing to compromise.

Bekesi Cited on Market Economy

LD0910141989 Budapest MTI in English 1330 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 9, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—At the Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party, the new Hungarian ruling party and successor to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the economic programme has for the time being been overshadowed by the stormy disputes over the new party's constitution.

In the course of the debate on Saturday on the party's programme Laszlo Bekesi, minister of finance, emphasised that Hungary should not be sheltered from the market and its impact on the economy. It is not the market that endangers the economy but state interference and the dominance of monopolies. These result in a situation whereby, despite the crisis, wastage of resources continues while modernisation is slow.

At the same time, a highly-developed social welfare policy must be adopted to safeguard against the destructive effects of the market.

There is no need to fear a restoration of capitalism—but it is much more important to struggle against poverty than against the creation of wealth for certain groups of the society, Mr Bekesi stressed. To accumulate private property and foreign capital is in the interests of the whole country.

In industry, western-style efficiency and discipline is essential, while distribution should be governed by welfare principles, he said.

Mr Bekesi concluded by stating that the new party is not in a position to make rash promises. In the short run, it is simply not possible to achieve rapid economic growth, to ensure full employment, to raise the living standards, and at the same time to drastically cut inflation.

However, the new party can help create a more efficient economy, increase social security, help stop the fall in living standards and still curb double-figure inflation.

Congress Adopts Statutes

LD0910151989 Budapest MTI in English 1354 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 9 (MTI)—The Monday session of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] Congress began with a proposal relating to the agenda and aimed at helping to finish the discussion the same day.

As the work of the Congress is considerably behind schedule, leaders of the county delegations proposed that after the statutes and the manifesto, only the items on the agenda which are considered vital by the Congress should be discussed: The others could then be referred to the newly-elected leading bodies of the party. They also asked the platforms to brief the delegates on personnel questions to see what agreements and political considerations the lists of candidates for leading posts are based on.

The issue of the Workers' Militia is the most controversial item proposed for discussion. Some delegates feel it is not in the authority of the Congress to decide continuing the existence or on the dissolution of the Workers' militia, as control over the organization was given up by the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]: The new party could therefore not inherit the right, and the issue belongs to the authority of the government. Others feel it would not be right to shift the task to the government, yet the Congress should not pass resolutions, but propose to members of the Workers; Militia to wind up their own body. Finally, the delegates voted for a position to be passed by Congress on the issue of the Workers' Militia.

Subjects still to be discussed include the question of party property, and whether October 23 should be a day of national reconciliation. They voted against the inclusion on the agenda of the question of self-government, the relationship between party and trade unions, and the reform of forms of ownership.

A separate vote was taken not to return—as proposed by a motion—to what the HSP has to offer to its membership and the National Assembly in connection with the party presence at places of employment.

Delegates decided that by October 31, 1989, all the basic party bodies should be summoned. All those who endorse the HSP's new statutes and the basic concepts of the manifesto will thus be ratifying their decision to become a member of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

In the statutes, it will be set down that the National Coordination committee must revise the decisions of the HSWP still in force on October 7, 1989. Any decree that cannot be aligned with the statutes of the Hungarian Socialist Party should be annulled.

The symbols of the party will be decided on by the Congress, but in the first instance, related decisions—of a provisional character—will be made by the party's national electorate. During the ensuing debate, a number of delegates suggested a red carnation for the party's logo.

Following the item-by-item debate, the newly amended statutes were adopted with a large majority vote.

A decision was also made relating to the HSP's election rules. According to the document passed, each party member can avail himself of the right to vote only in the political movement to which he belongs. Any party member can be elected to any party post. There are, however, some exeptions: a member of the party's presidium cannot be a member of its board as well, for instance. Furthermore, members of the armed forces can fill positions in the party's national and regional organizations, while full-time police officers can only take party positions in the public administration units of their party, operating in the area of their service—in conformity with the provisions of the future party law. Only a Hungarian citizen may become an official of the party.

Subsequently, a briefing was given by Imre Pozsgay on the amendments relating to the party's manifesto, including the method of passing the resolution.

The document "Our Historic Past" was noted by the delegates. Since there was no opposition to the basic concepts of the HSP's manifesto, the document was unanimously adopted by the Congress. At the same time, the presidium was authorised to carry out minor changes to the text.

Platforms Decide Future Activity

LD0910165989 Budapest MTI in English 1448 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 9 (MTI)—Monday's session of the HSP's [Hungarian Socialist Party] congress then continued with the discussion of miscellaneous items, contrary to the previously-adopted agenda.

It was announced that the "Preserve the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] platform had disbanded itself. Another announcement was that, after passing its statutes, the organization rallying 54 independent tradesmen and small enterpreneurs continues to function officially as the entrepreneurial section, while the "Give the Provinces an Equal Chance" platform and the "Agrarian and Food Industry" platform will operate in the future as the "Platform for the Rural Agrarian and Food Branch".

Agreement 'Likely' in Interparty Talks

LD0910154789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Miklos Martin-Kovacs report from Budapest Congress Center]

[Excerpt] We do not possess absolutely exact information, but please believe me when I say that the news is not out of thin air which says that the Presidium will have 25 members and that a decisive majority—some 70 percent—of the candidates have not yet held leadership posts.

A representative of the Reform Alliance said that the composition of the proposed body is encouraging. However, according to a member of the People's Democratic Platform, the Reform Alliance is not really willing to compromise, although that is what it had promised.

In the meantime, 23 delegates have launched a platform and have conveyed a proposal to the Presidium, asking that the decision about the leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Party should not be taken at a closed session. The session, at all events, remained closed format as of a few minutes ago.

Of course, most of the delegates are very much open. It appears that more and more feel they would do better to cast their vote independently of the platforms, though there is no doubt that the biggest organizing force continues to be perceptible in the vicinity of the Reform Alliance and the People's Democratic Platform. A very competent politician, who did not wish to be named, has said the he considers agreement likely.

The independent delegates earlier publicly voiced dissatisfaction becuase negotiations over personnnel issues were taking place behind the scenes. Thus, they welcomed—emphasizing this by means of their votes—the proposal on the basis of which Rezso Nyers, Miklos Nemeth, Imre Pozsgay, and Gyula Horn, who are in the focus of negotiations, were obligated to state their stands in the space of 10 minutes each, and also to speak about the background to the negotiations.

According to the news so far, all this is expected at the closed session, since the person chairing the session considered this to be natural, and did not even put the issue to a vote. To put it mildly, opinions on this are divided, just like it is believed there will be a serious debate over the assessment of party property, national reconciliation, and 23 October, as well as the Workers' Guard. These, apart from personnel issues, still remain. So there scarcely is a hope that the consultation will end soon. [passage omitted]

Appeals Committee Report Approved

LD0910205489 Budapest MTI in English 1646 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 9 (MTI)—Sandor Balogh, chairman of the Appeals Committee, made a verbal supplement to the body's written report [at the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) Congress today].

He pointed out that the committee found in connection with decisions involving party discipline that in about half of the examined cases, both the procedure and the decision had been carefully and correctly made. In the course of the review, the committee took account of the fact that cases involving party discipline were closely linked to contemporary political conditions, which tended to influence the decision of disciplinary committees and the Central Control Committee. At the same time, the Appeals Committee found that there were instances of red tape, anti-humane decisions not free of partiality, and personal connections, and they are going to propose to the congress that these be looked into.

The speaker mentioned a number of examples, including the affair of Mihaly Bihari, Zoltan Biro, Zoltan Kiraly and Laszlo Lengyel. He said that their expulsion was especially harmful to the party by ruining its prestige. Their case reflects how a political dispute can be transferred to the administration, entailing a violation of the organizational rules. This exemplifies how the old leadership discarded people who had the courage to criticize the policy which had maded the country and the party drift into a crisis with the intention of improving.

With regard to the new role and function of the party in society, Sandor Balogh proposed to the congress that the affair of the people expelled during the 1948-49 party revision or those reprimanded unjustly after 1956 be settled not only on rquest, but also in an established manner. The Appeals Comittee also recommended that the HSP dissociate itself from the guilty ones, the principles and methods that have proved to be mistaken, and do away with the system of a bureaucratic party state.

The debate following the report included a number of proposals, such as one suggesting that the would-be national coordinating committee should carry out a review as regards those responsible for the mistaken decisions. They also called for a clear-cut position declaring that under a former party structure, the Central Control Committee and other bodies involved carried out not the tasks which were nominally their duty—that is, watching over the party's moral purity—but carried out a completely different function, this should be named.

After unanimously approving the report of the Appeals Committee together with the supplementary proposals, the congress took a break.

HSP Manifesto Summarized

LD0910210789 Budapest MTI in English 1922 GMT 9 Oct 89

["HSP Congress - Manifesto - Brief Summary"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, October 9 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) dissociates itself from all forms of Stalinism and neo-Stalinism. Nevertheless, it consistently preserves such ideas and values of the socialist and communist movement such as the accomplishment of human freedom, the assertion of the public will of a society organized from below, self-government, genuine collectivity, social solidarity and justice, equality of chances, and social security. The party set the aim of achieving democratic socialism through the peaceful way of people's democracy, and maintaining the fuctionability of society and the economy.

The political institutions of democratic socialism are the institutions of a democratic, law-governed state marked by direct democracy. The further features of democratic socialism include a balanced distribution of power between the various organizations and power centres, a freely-elected, responsible parliament exercising supreme power and representing people's sovereignty, a president of the republic, who maintains the balance between different branches of power, a government answerable to parliament, an independent judiciary as a separate branch of power, freedom of citizens, a multiparty system to express the various political intentions, free rivalry between the various political organizations and trends, independent social and professional interest organizations, and constitutional guarantees for the protection of minorities.

The HSP set the economic policy aim of establishing a market-based economy. As a condition, the Constitution should guarantee equal economic rights and security for the various forms of property, including foreign property. The manifesto declares that enrichment within the law does not violate the civil rights of others and does not imply a return to capitalism. The market-based economy is conditional on ownership reform, involving the socialization of state-owned property. The company assets concentrated by the state should be transferred to their new holders in a manner regulated by law and controlled by society. The squandering of national wealth on the basis of the short-term interests of employees and abuse of managerial power should be prevented.

The distribution of incomes, the manifesto says, should efficiently encourage performance and make livelihood more secure. Among the various forms of incomes, wages will be accompanied by capital yields, entrepreneur's profit, and reward for innovation and commission and agency fees. The HSP recognizes these incomes as justified.

The social-welfare policy should moderate extreme differences in the standard of living. Mass unemployment should be prevented by an appropriate economic strategy, retraining and other means. The party takes an active stand for changing the economic and social conditions which maintain the cycle of poverty.

The HSP is a modern socialist political movement, competing with other political parties in a constitutional manner and operating as an alliance of platforms. It is a left-wing socialist party striving for a synthesis between the fundamental socialist and communist values. It is a party of the people since it represents the interests of the overwhelming majority of society, primarily the manual and non-manual workers who draw income from their work. It is a party of reforms since it concentrates its efforts on structural reforms and a peaceful transition to democracy. The HSP declares itself as a party of the nation and a democratic party, the party of its members.

The HSP advocates an independent Hungary. It supports the foreign policy endeavours that increased the country's international prestige, and considers the maintenance of undisturbed and balanced relations with the Soviet Union to be in the national interest. 'The similarity of our endeavours cherishes the hope that our relations will develop into voluntary cooperation between countries with equal rights and free choice of social order,' the manifesto says.

The HSP endeavours that the relationship between the existing alliance systems should be marked by rapprochement rather than confrontation. Hungary, also as a member of the Warsaw Treaty, seeks to promote agreements and confidence-building between the blocs in an independent and initiating way. The party supports the idea that all foreign armed forces should leave the territory of European states, and the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary be withdrawn as part of the European disarmament process. The party sincerely wishes the cooperation of Danube people and the improvement of relations.

The Hungarian Socialist Party is prepared to cooperate without respect to ideology with all democratic political forces which feel responsibility for the future of Europe, primarily with the reform-minded communist, socialist, social democratic and other left-wing trends, and the new-type ecological, youth, peace and women movements. The HSP seeks to preserve its many-sided relations with the parties of the international communist movement, and seeks possible areas of cooperation with the bourgeois political forces. The particular attention the HSP gives to the social democratic experience is fostered by common traditions, the manifesto states.

Presidium Members Elected

LD0910205289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] [Presenter] I have just learned that we can return to the scene of the Congress. Let us listen:

[Begin recording of unidentified speaker] I would like to announce the results so far of the election.

Comrade Rezso Nyers has been elected by the Congress as chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. [applause]

The HSP's nominee for the post of president of the Republic—with the support of the Congress—is Imre Pozsgay.

The members of the HSP's Presidium are:

Laszlo Boros
Bela Fabri
Jozsef Geczi
Gyula Horn
Csaba Hamori
Ferenc Kosa
(Laszlo Kueroesfoei)
Bela Katona
Mrs (Karasz)
Mrs Madl, nee Dr Ilona Maar
Lajos Menyhart
Imre Nagy
Miklos Nemeth
Maria Ormos
Imre Pozsgay
Laszlo Pal
Gyorgy Szabo
Sandor Szili
Csaba Vas
Ivan Vitanyi
Pal Vastagh and
Jeno Kovacs

We continue our work with the election of the chairman of the National Coordinating Committee, the chairman of the Central Financial Supervisory Committee, and their members. I ask the Congress delegates whether they have received the voting cards. Please hold up your hand if you have not received a voting card. [end recording]

Nyers Comments on Congress

LD0910212989 Budapest MTI in English 2050 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 9 (MTI)—Following the closed session held on Monday at the Hungarian Socialist Party Congress, Rezso Nyers was immediately surrounded by journalists on leaving the conference hall, as it had been unofficially announced that he had been elected president of the new party. The 66-year-old politician, who has been a member of the party since 1940 and who participated in the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] leadership from 1962 to 1975, then again from May 1988, said the following in answer to the questions:

"For me, the work of the congress has proven that party membership has emerged in the HSWP in an exceptionally difficult period, amidst complex circumstances, which was capable of creating a common position from the six or eight currents operating within the party, with democratic means, in a relatively short time. It was capable of doing this for the political basic principles, for the statute of the new party, and in personnel issues, although the latter was the most difficult. All this proved that the independent views of the platforms and free enforcement of opinions did not paralyze the party but rather helped it to hold a successful congress."

"Reacting to a question on the mass basis of the new party, Mr Nyers said:

"We will part from certain people, but it should be a friendly parting. There will be new meetings which I hope will be major meetings."

At the same time, Mr Nyers was of the opinion that the greatest price for the unity demonstrated at the congress will be paid by the part of the membership who will remain outside the party.

Mr Nyers declined to answer further questions, saying he would reply to journalists at an international press conference.

Nyers Interviewed on Chairmanship

LD0910222589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Oct 89

["Exclusive" interview with Rezso Nyers, newly elected chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), by correspondents Gyorgyi B. Kiraly and Janos Simko on 9 October at the Budapest Congress Center—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] First of all, on behalf of Hungarian Radio, we congratulate you on your election, on the fact that, with 1,065 votes, if our information is correct, you are the first chairman of the HSP. Things did not go as smoothly as all that, since at the closed session they debated for hours about your person, too.

[Nyers] Thank you for the congratulations. The debate, as far as I know, was not about my person, but about the composition of the leadership as a whole. Mr person came up for discussion here in so far as the chairman, and naturally the members of the Presidium as well, must work together with each other, and thus they must weigh up whether this cooperation is possible. As a matter of fact the debate was about this.

[Correspondent] Already during the morning the news leaked out that Miklos Nemeth, the government head, and you as party chairman- - well, I don't want to put it too crudely—you are not even on speaking terms. Consequently, Ivan Vitanyi asked you [plural form] to clarify your relationship at a closed session. Would you tell us what was said there?

[Nyers] Please, I was not there when Ivan Vitanyi raised this proposal. It does not accord with reality that we are not on speaking terms. There is no doubt that there have been issues, and there are issues, too, which we judge differently.

As the congress approached, these problems imperceptibly increased. There is no doubt about this. As is usual at such times, the reports circulate, they undergo a change, they get enlarged, they go from person to person, and so forth. These things disrupt the cooperation also of those whose views, from the viewpoint of their political stance, should not be so disrupted.

[Correspondent] Why were 4 more names added to the originally 21-member closed list, thus expanding it to one of 25 members? It also leaked from the session chamber that the party will not have deputy chairmen. Would the reason for this be perhaps the squabbling [tozsalkodas] of the various platforms, that they could not agree on persons?

[Nyers] This is not squabbling. It is the divergence of opinions of the platforms. This is natural. There is no kind of squabbling. Look, in the old days they used to say about the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and I would not like it if they were to say it about the HSP—that there is no real debate here, or that there was no real debate there; that the personnel issues were decided from above, without debate. Well, now precisely the opposite is happening. So, I would really not like it if now they were to change their tune and at all costs criticize the HSP, even when it democratizes then they accuse it of squabbling. I do not accept this.

[Correspondent] The next big task after the organization of the HSP will be the elections of president of the Republic. What do you feel, how will this party support Imre Pozsgay?

[Nyers] Please, this party, according to my conviction, will essentially support Imre Pozsgay in absolute unity. After my election I immediately proposed to congress that it adopt a united stance to confirm Imre Pozsgay as candidate for president of the Republic. The delegates....

[Correspondent interrupts] did this happen now, in the session chamber?

[Nyers] This happened now. The delegates received it with huge applause and they adopted it in unity. This has taken place.

[Correspondent] Excuse me, can this be described as a Pozsgay-Nyers alliance?

[Nyers] Please, this Pozsgay-Nyers alliance has been existence for a long, long time. What must be said, what I said about myself, is that I am a long-distance runner reformer. Pozsgay too is a long-distance runner. The distance is a little bit shorter yet, but he will run further than I. So, this has existed hitherto as well. Both before the congress and during the congress I was in regular contact with Pozsgay and we both intensively sought the correct solution, moving toward one another.

[Correspondent] Since we are discussing elections, what kind of result would you accept as reasonable for the HSP?

[Nyers] I simply would not comment on this issue because I don't consider the answer which I could give to this would be realpolitik. Therefore you should forget about it. Now a new change is taking place. We have not really been familiar with the ranking order of values of the Hungarian people about the parties. Now that a new type of party has emerged we can indeed not know this.

[Correspondent] Excuse me, it was said at the congress that this party wants to win.

[Nyers] Please, this didn't get into the party program or into the party's organizational statutes. I view it as natural that like any party this party also wants to win. If you put the question in this way, as to whether we want to win, then I say: Yes, we do want to win. However, as a real politician—and I am a political scientist as well as an economist, in other words, a man of reality—I cannot indulge in predictions.

[Correspondent] In your judgment, among the 700,000 members of the MSZMP what kind of sentiments were provoked by the formation of the new party? I have in mind the honest communists in whose case, I fear, the heart dictates something different from what the mind wants.

[Nyers] Please, I do not accept this as a generalization, in respect of the communists or of the MSZMP members. There are those whose hearts and minds are in conflict, it is true.

[Correspondent] In other words, you accept that very many have now got into a conflict situation?

[Nyers] Please, this provoked very mixed feelings in the initial stages. I have no comprehensive view of the issue, but in my opinion a proportion, a significant proportion of the party membership, has been shocked by the decision and they are confused as to what really happened. We are talking about a new party, so what is happening to the MSZMP?

I would like to emphasize that the essence of this political decision is that the MSZMP is being reborn. In other words, the HSP is being created out of the MSZMP as a successor party. In other words, the leadership, the congress has not marched out of its own party but has made such a decision that it asks for confirmation from every one of its members about whether he approves or disapproves the congress decision.

[Correspondent] Don't be offended, but is a proportion of the party membership not marching out of its congress?

[Nyers] I expect that unfortunately a proportion of the party membership will divorce from us. Unfortunately we cannot have this. What we have to try to do is to make this a friendly divorce and that this divorce should be as small as possible. In other words, we expect every MSZMP member to register himself and become a new member, a member of the HSP. He has a natural right to this and it depends only on a declaration, a declaration adopted by himself, and he has the right to be a member of the HSP.

[Correspondent] You have been a member of a social democratic party, a communist party. What kind of values would you want to salvage from social democracy and what values from the communist movement?

[Nyers] From social democracy the inner party democracy, before everything else, the strong sensitivity to realpolitik, the smaller degree of ideological compulsion [ideologizaltsag] and a different—in my judgment, more modern—form of internationalism than that which evolved in the Stalinist period, but I stress, only in the stalinist period.

From the communist movement I would take over...[Nyers changes thought] The communists have displayed greater virtues than the social democrats in terms of a courageous reform-like intervention in society and in solving social issues. It is this from which their great fault really stems: they have been excessively courageous. However, I would salvage this courage and, furthermore, I would also salvage the virtue that communist parties all over the world dig deeper in respect of support for the poorest layers of the people, in the care for the fate of these than the socialist parties do, it must be said.

I mention a third aspect too, but this applies only to the post-1945 communist movement. Until 1945 both the communist and social democratic party were almost identically either insensitive towards the peasant questions. In the Hungarian Social Democratic Party there was an agrarian current which elaborated the first draft of land reform in Hungary in 1931, the most modern one—even the 1945 land reform did not improve on it—but this remained an isolated small part within the social democratic movement. The communists after 1945 undertook a greater part from the peasant aspect than the Socialist Democratic Party because this is [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] This Congress has done its work amid great international interest. As an adherent of realpolitik you know that the situation in Karabakh is strained to breaking point. The situation is also grave in the GDR. And we have serious conflicts with the other socialist countries. What will or could be this party Presidium's first foreign policy steps?

[Nyers] Please, the party Presidium takes steps along a party line. The government takes steps along a state line. In my view, in the series of first steps, we must make it clear among our allies, among the socialist and communist parties that cooperate with us, what has happened in Hungary. We have to make it clear to them that our political direction, the congress decisions have not questioned our membership either of the Warsaw Pact or of CEMA, but that we are striving, for reforms within them. Moreover, we want to be in alliance with the reform movements of the communist parties and in close contact and good relationship with all the communists parties. This is especially so as regards the East European socialist region, but I could also say this of the Chinese and Vietnamese parties, as well as of the Cuban one.

[Correspondent] Foreign policy...

[Nyers interrupts] Excuse me, we will continue at full speed our work in building relations in the world to the west of us, with the socialist and social democratic parties, and we will strive for a closer than hitherto relationship with Socialist International. I am saying "closer" because up to now we have had some kind of relationship.

[Correspondent] A compromise of historic dimension took place here, isn't that how many people have described the formation of this new party? But, of course, there is life outside of the congress's walls, and we also live in a Hungary that has not recovered from bankruptcy just because the HSP has formed. In your judgment, to what extent does the formation of this party contribute to our stabilization, to our creditworthiness, to increasing our prestige?

[Nyers] Unfortunately it cannot facilitate this directly. These are more complex issues than that. However, it has an indirect role in this. Indeed, I would say that our economic stabilization depends on our political stabilization; our political stabilization to no small extent depends on the degree to which this HSP becomes stable within a short time, and on how strong a factor it will be of Hungarian political life. I believe that regardless of every other party in the current situation and for another 1-2 years the HSP will be a decisive factor of Hungarian political stabilization.

[Correspondent] So you consider this party to be politically viable in the long term?

[Nyers] What is most certain is that it will be viable in the long-term. Properly speaking, it is the short term which is still unclear here.

Reform Alliance on Reconciliation

LD0910230689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Oct 89

["Report" by Peter Laszlo and Jozsef Orosz from the Hungarian Socialist Party, HSP, Congress in Budapest]

[Excerpts] The congress delegates are still having supper, so nobody knows when the debate will start in the Budapest congress centre on several draft standpoints. The issues are the fate of the workers' guard and the assets of the former party, as well as how the HSP should commemorate 1956. The delegates themselves will only be given the draft documents proposed after supper.

The Reform Alliance gave us their draft standpoint on 1956 and national reconciliation. They would like the HSP Congress to declare 23 October as a holiday, the day of national reconciliation and remembrance, so that every one will be able to commemorate freely, according to their conviction. According to the Reform Alliance, it would be good if the party congress condemned the entry of the Soviet troops on 4 November, 1956, as the practice of the doctrine of limited sovereignty. The basis of principle for this is that the party opposes intervention into the affairs of foreign states.

The group of delegates from Baranya County also prepared a draft standpoint on national reconciliation. Their opinion is that 23 October should be a day of national commemoration, and for this to really be declared such, the party's National Assembly group should propose the standpoint in the parliament. According to those in Baranya, the Council of Ministers should pay financial compensation to those who were unjustly condemned.

We also have in our hands a draft standpoint on parties' activities in the workplace. This also comes from the Reform Alliance, though it is not signed. According to the document, political parties should not carry out organized activity in the workplace. In accordance with this, they propose that the members of the HSP should create new organizations in residential areas now, adjusting to the borders of the National Assembly electoral districts and council member electoral districts.

For the time being, it is not known what the HSP Congress stand will be on the fate of the workers' guard. [passage omitted]

In connection with the party's assets, there will, in all probability, be debate, although several people said, in hallway conversations, that the HSP should be given handling rights over the assets of the HSP. At the same time, the Reform Alliance is of the view that only those assets which are definitely necessary for functioning, and which can be linked to membership fee payments, should be retained while the rest should be returned to the government. This standpoint did not win general approval. A decision can be expected during the course of the night on this question too at the HSP Congress.

Pozsgay Holds News Conference

LD0910222289 Budapest MTI in English 2157 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 9 (MTI)—Replying to newsmen before the evening plenary session, Imre Pozsgay evaluated the work of the congress. He emphasized that the highest forum of the party had accomplished its main task by founding a new party, the leadership of which it is hoped will authenticate the principles laid down in the manifesto and the statutes. As the first image of the leadership proves, the HSP has not emerged before society with old faces, and a spirit has emerged which gives the party a greater chance at the trilateral political talks. In reply to a question on unity within the leadership, Mr Pozsgay said that the gap between the views had narrowed by Monday.

Asked about the Sunday vote on the operation of party organizations at the places of employment, Mr Pozsgay said that the outcome, which allowed them to continue operation, had not surprised him and he was not dispirited left in a minority. The positions on this issue were well-known, he added.

Mr Pozsgay said that Rezso Nyers had been the single candidate for the president's post and that he also supported his nomination.

Leaders Pledge Moral Responsibility

LD0910235389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Before our detailed reports we will hook up with the Budapest Congress center, where the political debate of the Hungarian Socialist Party is still proceeding. Miklos Martin Kovacs and Gyorgyi B. Kiraly report:

[Kovacs] It is a novelty that the members of the new leading bodies accepted their nomination in a declaration and they also certified by their signature that they will not cause moral damage to the party if they are elected. They also vowed to make a property declaration to the party and recognize that this will be compared with the list of properties they have when they complete their party mission. [passage omitted]

Grosz on Reasons for MSZMP Split

AU091 111189 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 9 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz by Tamas Oltvanyi in Budapest "before the decision of the orthodox wing of the MSZMP to found its own Communist Party": "The Reformers Do Not Want a Compromise"]

[Text] DER STANDARD: You give the impression of a man who has resigned himself to his position as the loser. Is this correct?

Grosz: I am much more concerned with the state of the party and the congress, because I see dangers.

DER STANDARD: In which respect?

Grosz: I am convinced that we are moving toward a splitting of the party.

DER STANDARD: Do you think that this change is due to the strengthening of the reform forces, who want their own party with socialist characteristics?

Grosz: Yes, I see the situation in this way; in my view this reformist wing can no longer be called socialist but is already to the right of this position.

DER STANDARD: Can you support this fundamental change?

Grosz: No, not at all.

DER STANDARD: Will this rejection by you and your followers have any consequences at the congress?

Grosz: I hope so, but I have to add that politics is a rather complicated and lengthy matter.

In addition, the composition of this congress does not reflect the composition and the opinion of the entire party—this is why the process will be lengthy.

DER STANDARD: Are you so depressed because the readiness for compromise, which you expressed on the first day of the congress, has not met with a positive response?

Grosz: Yes, at the beginning I wanted to achieve a compromise, but the congress was guided into another direction. In my speech I pointed out that the radical reformers are not ready for any compromise. This is precisely what has happened.

DER STANDARD: But this expresses the mood of the delegates, or do you suspect something else behind it?

Grosz: I do not know. One thing is certain: I do not organize here and I do not check whether other people are doing this or not. But the mood is clearly more radical.

DER STANDARD: Is this a clear defeat for you?

Grosz: The future will tell.

10 Oct Congress Proceedings Continue, Conclude

Delegates Renounce Unnecessary Assets

LD1010003389 Budapest MTI in English 0008 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 10 (MTI)—The delegates [to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Congress] were informed in detail about the HSWP's assets, which amount to 10,300 million forints. Three-quarters of these assets are state-owned landed property. The party is exercising the right of control, which means that it cannot sold [as received] these landed properties.

After a short debate, the delegates decided to renounce all assets that are not required for the operation of the new party.

Further on Nyers News Conference

LD1010003989 Budapest MTI in English 0026 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 10 (MTI)—Eighty-eight per cent of congress delegates voted for Rezso Nyers to be president, and members of the Presidium received 70 to 80 per cent of the votes, it was announced at the international press conference held by Rezso Nyers.

The party president said that the new party intends to assign a prominent role to foreign working capital, and believes that Hungary could be a bridge between the Soviet and the Western market.

The programme of the Hungarian Socialist Party is a democratic programme, in the sense as democracy is interpreted in Europe, in Western Europe as it were, and as it was interpreted in Hungary in the past.

Mr Nyers said the reform communists are represented in a smaller proportion in the Presidium than their number within the party, and are present only in a slight degree.

Mr Nyers said he consciously plays a kind of integration role in the party, within which six currents can be differentiated. The strongest of these continues to be the Reform Alliance, but this in itself consists of several groups. I was not able to integrate the most radical reformers, only to defeat them in the course of the election, Mr Nyers acknowledged. In his view this group only showed a slight readiness for compromise to the extent of remaining within the party.

With respect to the personal responsibility of officials of the new party, the president took the stand that the sanction of political responsibility be dismissal. However, committing unlawful acts and utilizing the function to gain financial advantages requires an ethical position.

Answering questions, Mr Nyers said his evaluation in the issue of party cells in workplaces stands very close to that of Imre Pozsgay, with respect to the main point. The difference between them lies in the means of approaching the problem.

Mr Nyers informed journalists that two hours after his election, he received a telegramme of greetings from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This speed is, in all probability, due to the fact that a hot line exists between Budapest and Moscow.

Several journalists wanted to know how the decision on the selection of leaders was made behind closed doors. Mr Nyers said he briefly informed the congress—as was requested of the party leadership by Ivan Vitanyi in his contribution—on the talks he held behind the scenes with Imre Pozsgay, Miklos Nemeth, and Gyula Horn. On the basis of these talks, Mr Nyers made a proposal on the composition of the leadership. After debate, congress approved the proposal. With this, congress also approved the report on the talks between the four leaders. Although the organizational rules decree on the function of vice-president, no vice-president was elected as congress was unable to nominate candidates to the post.

Commentary on Workers' Militia

*LD1010011189 Budapest MTI in English
0034 GMT 10 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 10 (MTI)—With an overwhelming majority of votes, the delegates decided that the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] Congress should express thanks to the workers' militia for its three decades work. In the future, however, the workers' militia should be controlled by the government and parliament.

The document approved by the delegates stresses that any political or other attack launched against the militia as a whole or its members for their former activity is unacceptable and incompatible with peaceful transition to a democratic, law-governed state.

The HSP expects the party members of the workers' militia to reconfirm their membership in the Hungarian Socialist Party. The delegates supported the government's plan to elaborate the forms and principles of setting up a new, non-armed, voluntary and party-neutral body, which would serve civil defence and catastrophe prevention in an integrated system of national defence. The HSP holds it necessary for the new body's operation to be regulated by a law which should declare that the organization cannot be used for carrying out internal police tasks.

Compensation Urged for 1956 Victims

*LD1010010689 Budapest MTI in English
0051 GMT 10 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 10 (MTI)—The position dealing with 1956 and national reconciliation was approved by almost 70 per cent of the delegates. According to the document, the Congress decided that the party would initiate in parliament to declare October 23 a day of national commemoration.

This day should remind people how society and its citizens are distorted by all dictatorships. It should warn that the use of force to enforce or suppress political endeavours is suitable for nothing else than the incitement of hatred. The HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] opposes all forms of intervention in the internal affairs of states, and the limitation of sovereignty.

The HSP initiates that, beside legal and moral rehabilitation, the Council of Ministers should take measures for granting a reasonable and socially affordable financial compensation to those who were condemned without any foundation.

Congress Concludes

*LD1010011489 Budapest MTI in English
0057 GMT 10 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 10 (MTI)—After discussing all items on the agenda, the delegates approved an appeal in which the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] called upon the former HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] members who agree with its political programme and principles to join the new party.

Before the end of the Congress, Robert Hoch announced the foundation of the left-wing socialist section of the HSP. He said the section awaits all who undertake the heritage of Marxism and consider themselves reform communists.

After that, Rezso Nyers declared the Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party as closed.

Economic Revival Plan Outlined

*LD1010141289 Budapest MTI in English
1324 GMT 10 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 10, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The newly-formed Hungarian Socialist Party, successor to the ruling HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] considers property reform to be an essential precondition to Hungary's economic revival, and is therefore to guarantee the free acquisition and use of land.

The HSP programme adopted at the party congress, which ended at dawn on Tuesday, states that the accumulation of private property does not in itself violate the rights of other citizens. The HSP's job is to struggle against poverty and not against the creation of wealth, the programme stresses.

A system of property is required which serves both economic growth and social welfare. It should include state, cooperative and community property, property owned self-governing social groups, and private property.

The Hungarian Constitution must guarantee equal economic rights security of tenure and freedom of choice for all forms of ownership, including foreign ownership, the HSP programme states.

The Hungarian economy must become a market economy. A term which should include not only products but also the means of production: labour, capital—shares and bonds—land, and information.

To free the land market—based on its real market value—is essential to restructure Hungarian agriculture. Unjustified state subsidies and legal restrictions must go.

The programme sees the folowing as preconditions to a developed market economy:

(I) A modern, stable and flexible financial system.
(II) The development of small and medium-sized companies.
(III) A limit in the role of the state to creating market conditions, encouraging new technology and to protecting society from the harmful affects of a free market.
(IV) A curb on inflation and unemployment.
(V) The preservation of the country's international solvency, and efficient management of the national debt.

Biography of Newly Elected HSP President Nyers

LD1010151189 Budapest MTI in English
1402 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 10, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Rezso Nyers (66), one of the founding fathers of Hungarian economic reforms, was elected president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, offspring of the ruling HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], at its congress which ended at Tuesday dawn.

Mr Nyers started his political career in the social democratic movement before the war. His party was united with the communists in 1948, but he never lost his realistic approach towards economic questions, a remnant of his social democratic past. He acknowledges being linked to the reform wing of the ruling party since as far back as 1953. Historians, though, are doubtful as to whether at that time there ever existed a genuine organized reform wing, with the possible exception of the short-lived experiment conducted by Imre Nagy's government in 1953/4.

The new party president said at a news conference on Monday that he has graudally changed from a reform-communist to a socialist.

Mr Nyers played a major role in working out and introducing in 1968 the memorable series of economic reforms called the "New Economic Mechanism", which attempted to replace the system of rigid planning and orders with profit interests, and natural distribution with market elements, at the same time preserving the priority and preponderance of state and cooperative property over private ownership.

By 1972, the Hungarian reforms had run out of steam, because liberal economic measures were not accompanied by political changes. With the backing of the once more victorious orthodox forces in Eastern European countries, the so-called Hungarian "Workers' Opposition" won the day against the reformers in the party.

Nyers went the same way as the Hungarian economic reforms: He was forced into semi-oblivion. He had to leave his post as Central Committee secretary in 1974, and was ousted from the Politburo in 1975.

He was made chief director of the Economic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and later its scientific advisor. He just hung on to his Central Committee membership, which dates back to 1957, he has been an MP since 1958.

The party president sees himself as a 'long-distance runner' of reforms, and admits that he doesn't always see eye to eye with the more radical Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

The central theme of Nyers' concept is a kind of "social market economy" where public property has a larger role than in a traditional free market, although not in the form of the undivided state property traditional under communist rule. In his model, owners' interests and the free flow of capital play a very significant part.

On the foreign market, Hungary has to get rid of the double organization towards the so-called capitalist and socialist markets. Mr Nyers thinks that there is but a single world market and the COMECON in its present form is an obstacle to the development of the Hungarian economy. His opinion is that the solution lies in the market-oriented reshuffle of relations within the COMECON.

Socialist Party Plans Founding Session 11 Oct

LD1010210189 Budapest MTI in English
1825 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 10 (MTI)—The Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party is to hold its founding session on Wednesday, HSP employee Andras Toth told MTI. He said sheets carrying the signatures of members who approve the statutes and the manifesto of the Hungarian Socialist Party were to be completed by the beginning of next week. He stressed the deadline of October 31 did not mean that people not signing by then would lose their membership, as new membership cards will also be issued next week.

He also spoke about the controversy concerning the present status of municipal, county, town and district party bodies. As the congress passed a decision on their legal continuity, the proposal submitted to the Presidium says that these bodies should work on until the grassroots organization reaches their levels. Until then, these bodies should help the process of new organization as well as continued affairs already in process.

Nyers Addresses HSP Mass Rally in Budapest

LD1010193589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] A political mass rally was held in Budapest this afternoon in the election center of what is now the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. The speaker was the party chairman. In the mobile unit was Janos Hollos, who reported from the scene:

[Hollos] We came not to bury the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] nor to praise it, but to speak about the birth of something new. This is how Rezso Nyers began his speech at the first HSP mass rally. After that, he gave an analysis of the political content of the founding congress which ended at dawn today. He described the mood of the congress as bitter-sweet. Bitter, because a large part of the party membership is not really responsible for the MSZMP's crisis; nevertheless, the party membership also bears the consequences. Sweet, because the party has not had such a lively congress, rich in ideas and looking for new ideas, since June 1957. However, the mood of the present abolishing-founding congress can best be compared with the mood of the one-time Social-Democratic congresses.

It has been proved that the party does not have to break in half to be able to function democratically because the party has given freedom to the various currents. This freedom was what led the delegates to find the common denominator. That is how a compromise unity was able to come into being, with respect to the strategic objectives, and this is the greatest merit of this congress.

The new party is one of several platforms, on one side of which stand the people of social-democratic thinking, and on the other the reform communists. These trends have amd must have the right to exist in the HSP. It is the prerogative and at the same time the natural right of every MSZMP member to be a member of the HSP, in other words, without any kind of preliminary control, an MSZMP member can become an HSP member.

After Rezso Nyers' speech, the party chairman was surrounded by people at the mass rally who asked him questions. Most of the questions were aimed at trying to find out whether anyone has the right to appropriate the name of the MSZMP, since several allusions inspired by this intention have been heard recently. Rezso Nyers replied: The HSP is the legal successor of the MSZMP and this name cannot be used in future by any organization whatever.

Many people asked what the HSP's economic policy will be. The answer was: Until now the Hungarian economy was only capable of defensive tactics; the aim now is to increase the national income.

As for the question why the congress ended with the delegates singing the Internationale, Rezso Nyers replied: Because the new party, too, will be internationalist but not in the Stalinist sense.

Further on Nyers Address

LD1010220389 Budapest MTI in English 2019 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 10 (MTI)—"The party membership is in a bitter-sweet mood nowadays" party President Rezso Nyers said at the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] rally held in the Budapest election centre on Tuesday afternoon. "The bitter feelings are due to the fact that though the network of party organizations and the membership itself has not been responsible for the crisis of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], they have to take the burden of the consequences. Nevertheless, it seems promising that despite the difficulties, the discussion of the congress was marked by an open and democratic atmosphere." At a similar top-level discussion, such a free and thought-provoking debate occured only once since 1948, at the 1957 party conference. The activity of the congress and its high level of discussion evokes the times before the fusion of the two workers' parties.

One of the important features of the congress was that it gave free flow to the various trends and platforms. This also highlights the significance of democratic forms, as it was precisely the free debate which convinced the various trends that they do not need to rupture the party in order to assert their interests. The discussion was characterized by unity based on compromise, Mr Nyers said. He considers that the Hungarian Socialist Party can accomodate different kinds of views between the two poles of social democratic thinking and reform communism.

The party president also said that there was a sharp debate at the congress on the relation between the HSWP and the HSP and how far congress is allowed to go without asking for the authorization of the membership. As the postponing of decision would have led to the party's loss of prestige, congress was obliged to pass decision.

The most important task at hand is to make the widest possible range of the membership acquainted with the resolutions and to assist in their correct interpretation.

Mr Nyers gave a short briefing on the reception of the resolutions by world public opinion. The West has made largely appreciative comments on the Hungarian developments and the country's integration to the world processes. Some reaction saw no genuine change.

As far as socialist countries are concerned, the Soviet Union has reacted positively to the formation of the HSP. The telegram sent by General Secretary Gorbachev to Rezso Nyers conveyed fellow feelings. The congress drew a highly positive response in Yugoslavia and Poland, and Bulgaria's first impression was a stand of positive expectation. Romania and the GDR mainly put out short news items on the event and Czechoslovakia discussed at length with critical observations.

In view of the international response, the party president stressed that the HSP should make an effort to have Hungary's neighbours and partners interpret the changes in the country correctly even if they do not sympathize. It should be avoided that political links with their harmful consequences be set up against Hungarian endeavours.

From the point of view of Hungarian democratization, it is very important that the Gorbachev system has shown sympathy to Hungarian objectives. However, Hungary cannot base its reforms and economic policy simply on good intentions. Hungary should retain its position, even if Gorbachev's policy face difficulties in the Soviet Union. Hungary has learnt the lesson that the voluntary narrowing of its scope of action will not solve its problems, the party president concluded.

Pozsgay Expresses Reservations About New Party

LD1010231689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Imre Pozsgay is not unequivocally satisfied with the results of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party congress. The party's nominee for the post of the president of the Republic made this statement to the Finnish paper HELSINGIN SANOMAT. What makes him anxious is that the number of differences of views among the reformers is too great. At the same time he told the Japanese paper ASAHI SHIMBUN that he sees the significance of the establishment of the Hungarian Socialist Party in that it has separated from the Communist Party.

Socialist Party To Negotiate With Other Parties

LD1010202889 Budapest MTI in English 1710 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 10 (MTI)—The party's regional bodies are experiencing an uncertainty in the wake of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] congress. The HSP Szeged town committee held a working meeting on Tuesday morning to discuss the events of the past few days. They agreed that they were ready to initiate negotiations in the new situation with the various political parties, and they found it possible that in future, the HSP infrastructure would be shared with other parties. In Nograd county, the members of the new party are preparing for another county party conference. They plan to set up a 7-11 member executive committee on Wednesday from the congressional delegates, who include former General Secretary Karoly Grosz, which is to convene the county party conference for early December at the latest with the help of the county party committee and the apparatus. The conference is to elect the county presidium and board in terms of the documents approved by the congress.

In Hajdu-Bihar county, a conference of the executive committee and the group of delegates is to discuss the HSP's organizational tasks. The group of delegates is to take the position of giving the existing directing body the authority to organize the new party.

In Kobanya, a major workers' district in Budapest, the first secretary of the district party committee said that the first thing to drive home to people should be that the former members of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] were not dismissed by the new party, and that everybody may remain a member of the HSP. Signatures serve the purpose of confirming membership and refusal to sign the statement on joining the HSP is taken as indication of withdrawal from the party. The apparatus of the district party committee is expecting the party presidium to pass a decision on its future.

Marxist Platform Says MSZMP Still Exists

LD0910175889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] In an appeal today, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Marxist Unity Platform has declared that the MSZMP has not ceased to exist. The opinion of the Unity Platform is that the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] that was created at the Congress serves a capitalist restoration. For this reason, it calls on party members not to join the HSP, and on those who feel themselves to be communists to rejoin the MSZMP.

Opposition Parties Comment on HSP Move

LD1010221189 Budapest MTI in English 1915 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 10 (MTI)—"The Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) does not consider the new socialist party, which carries certain social democratic features, a real political rival," said MSZDP Executive Anna Petrasovits to MTI. "We consider the possibility of cooperation depending on the extent of the HSP's ability to renew itself. Naturally, there will be areas where no compromise can be made. Even the congress could not make internal frontlines clear. The free elections will show whether the public considers the changes credible. I think the HSP was not purified to the extent wished by the reform wing. We feel that the purely social democratic line of the MSZDP—which is to embrace certain liberal ideas and political practices—is still needed in Hungary."

"In the period of the transformation, which raises the hope that the country will move from the period of dictatorship to that of representational democracy, the reform of the ruling party is a long-awaited and important event," said Gyorgy Szabad, member of the National Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. Contrary to expectations, there was no clear breaking away from the past, in other words, no indication that the main factor in current transformation is discontinuity. He thinks that the new party is a "collector party".

To be eligible for coalition with the opposition parties after the parliamentary elections, the HSP needs further and clearer dissociation from the conservative forces it contains.

The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] fears, said Tibor Vidos, SZDSZ executive secretary, that setting up of the HSP does not mean genuine change. The first resolutions of the new party and the composition of its presidium do not indicate, for the time being, a break away from its past of a state party.

Csaba Varga, national secretary of the Hungarian People's Party, said: "We see the decision of the congress making the HSP the single successor to the HSWP as very important. This implies the legal exclusion of the possibility that future communist or other parties could regard themselves as a rightful successor to the HSWP or as holders of power, in other words, the danger of an extreme leftist turnaround has decreased.

Border Guards Stop Turning Back GDR Citizens

LD1110085989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 11 Oct 89

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] Since yesterday the border guards have ceased to control and, at the same time, to expel citizens of the GDR from Polish territory, regardless of how they had gotten in there, the government's press spokeswoman Malgorzata Neizabitowski told GAZETA WYBORCZA. She referred to the decision by Minister Krzysztop Skubiszewski who opposes the turning back of the GDR citizens to their own country. Such practices are not, and will not be applied in the future, she assured.

Daily on 'Illegal' Border Crossing Near Szczecin

LD1010195589 Warsaw PAP in English 1740 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 10—The EXPRESS WIECZORNY evening daily reported today on existence of an illegal border crossing near Szczecin (north-western Poland). Cautioning readers that the information had not been officially confirmed, by the commander of the Pomeranian Brigade of Frontier Guards in Szczecin, for instance, the EXPRESS WIECZORNY wrote in part:

"The fact is that in the vicinity of Szczecin, near barriers at the state border in Kolbaskowo (outside Szczecin) and near Gryfino (south of Szczecin) we have an illegal border crossing used by our neighbours.

"The past weekend brought an exceptionally large number of escapes to Poland. Refugees, if they are successful, head towards Warsaw and the FRG Embassy there. According to reliable sources, the paper stated, six GDR citizens illegally crossed border near Szczecin on Saturday, Sunday and Monday [7 - 9 October]. Several others were detained.

"If refugees are apprehended, they are turned over to the GDR Border Guards", the daily wrote.

The EXPRESS WIECZORNY added also that a considerable number of refugees from the GDR have been staying at the FRG Embassy in Warsaw. The exact figure is not known. It is known however that some 500 people have been sent to centres cared for by the Polish Red Cross.

Commentator on Treatment of GDR Refugees

LD0810171789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Interview with Krzysztof Wojna, Warsaw Radio commentator, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] Refugees from the GDR have spoiled the taste of the 40th anniversary of that state. This was probably a drastic way of expressing support for changes and reforms—the despairing call of young people for reform. We would like to talk about this matter today with Krzysztof Wojna [Warsaw Radio commentator]. First the facts. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] The way in which the refugees were treated and received in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and finally, here in Warsaw, differ. This inclines us to wonder whether, in recognizing the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another state, benevolence and sympathy must be excluded?

[Wojna] Let me tell you, Madam, that the Hungarians—I know their position well and I talked to them about it in September—they say the following: People from the GDR who come to us arrive with valid documents. For us, they are equal citizens, as citizens of every other state. It is never questioned if a Swede comes here and may depart when he likes. So why must someone from the GDR who comes here necessarily return to the GDR? If Austria lets them in, and the FRG is prepared to receive them, please...let them go. Secondly, admittedly an extradition treaty with the GDR exists, since the GDR cited this, but this concerns persons who have committed a crime. Here, at the moment, attempts to cross the border illegally are not a crime, just a misdemeanor. Therefore, this extradiction agreement does not apply.

There are also several other legal arguments which the Hungarians cited in opening the border with Austria. Now please notice that such an ally of the GDR, an ally with a very critical attitude toward the Hungarians, was Czechoslovakia, which took up all the arguments put forward in Berlin and criticized the Austro-Hungarians [as heard]. And what happened when people from the GDR began to arrive at the FRG Embassy in Prague en masse? What did the Czechs do? They also agreed to allow those people to depart to the FRG and did not try to return them by force to the GDR. So, here already, all of our countries, faced with this problem, well, in fact, took the only sensible and possible decision, namely to allow these people to go where they wanted. [passage omitted]

Yesterday, however, on Saturday, Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev conducted one-to-one talks, and it is assumed that at these talks, the need for reform was more widely discussed. Obviously this refugee problem is not a one-time incident. It is the best proof that this form or model of East German socialism which arose, which was created in 1949, requires certain correction after 40 years, and these corrections should be carried out in agreement with the whole society. I am convinced that corrections will be carried out.

Rakowski Interviewed in GDR on Visit

LD1010152189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party first secretary, by an unidentified reporter in Berlin, date not specified—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Does your visit to the GDR—in the situation facing it at present—have any greater purpose?

[Rakowski] I think it does; perhaps it sounds banal, but quite simply by my presence I wanted to demonstrate that I personally—and I don't think only me—am interested in the GDR existing as our western neighbor, above all for purely Polish interests, from the Polish point of view. Please don't forget that the GDR was the first country, the first German state to recognize the Oder-Niesse border and that earlier the leaders of the GDR took on themselves an improbable burden. It would have been considerably easier for them to create that state if they had said that they were questioning the Oder-Niesse border, or also that they were deferring it to be confirmed at some undefined time. Second, I consider that from the point of view of Poland's interests, the existence on precisely the western state border of a state friendly to Poland, one which has done much to strengthen affection for the Poles during those 40 years, that is quite simply, I would say, a Godsend. Anyone, I would say, who has a little feeling of responsibility for the Polish State, and, speaking somewhat brutally, has some brains in their head, ought quite simply to remember these basic and vital Polish interests. In connection with this I consider that I ought to [words indistinct] manifest that I have in mind the intersts of my country.

Rakowski Congratulates Hungary's Nyers on Election

LD1010202189 Warsaw PAP in English 1858 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 10—PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski sent a congratulatory cable to Rezso Nyers in connection with his election as chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

LCY CC Delegation Visits Poland

LD0710043789 Warsaw PAP in English 2246 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 6—A fact-finding delegation of the Central Committee [CC] of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, headed by secretary of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Voivodina CC Emilia Bruner-Bela, visited Poland on October 2-6.

The delegation held talks with head of the department-secretariat of the Commission for Party Work of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC Jerzy Szmajdzinski as well as with heads: of the department-secretariat of the International Commission Ernest Kucza, of the Workers' Commission Maciej Lubczynski and of the Parliamentary Office of the CC Edward Szymanski.

The talks were dominated by the most significant issues connected with the process of reforms and transformations currently taking place in the PUWP and the state. Among the discussed topics were systemic changes, role and place of the PUWP in the new socio-political conditions, political and trade union pluralism as well as the basic tasks stemming from the resolutions of the 15th CC Plenum, especially in the context of preparations for the 11th PUWP Congress.

At the end of the visit, the delegation was received by Political Bureau member and Chairman of the PUWP Parliamentary Floor Group Marian Orzechowski.

EEC Ministers Accept Economic Aid Plan

LD1010015189 Warsaw PAP in English 2128 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Luxembourg, Oct. 9—The Council of Economics and Finance Ministers of the EEC called on the European Investment Bank [EIB] to take the necessary steps opening up a possibility of granting Poland and Hungary loans while expressing agreement in principal to cover the planned EIB credits with guarantees from the EEC budget.

The communique does not specify the volume of the loans but one could assume that it will reach 800-1,000 million ECU [European Currency Units] (for both countries together), spread over three years. Such was the proposal of the EEC commission tabled to the ministers.

U.S. Arms Adviser Rowny Meets With Geremek

LD1110092889 Warsaw PAP in English 2023 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 10—Visiting Ambassador Edward L. Rowny, a special adviser for disarmament to the President and the U.S. secretary of state, who has been also a many years' American chief negotiatior at the SALT and START talks met today with chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group Bronislaw Germemek and the group's deputy chairman, Deputy Senate Speaker Andrzej Wielowieyski to discuss the current state of disarmament talks.

Rowny laid special emphasis on the significance of the cut in conventional arms in Europe, both for the world and for Poland.

Rowny is to address the citizens' floor group this week.

Jaruzelski, Rakowski Meet SRV's Nguyen Van Linh

LD0610214189 Warsaw PAP in English 1906 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin, Oct. 6—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Polish United Workers Party Central Committee [CC] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met here today with General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Vietnam Nguyen Van Linh.

Further Reportage on 15th PZPR CC Plenum

Roundup of Plenum Floor Speeches

AU1110074689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 89 pp 4, 5

[Unattributed roundup of the floor speeches delivered at the second half of the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum held in Warsaw on 3 October]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Kazimierz Kik, research worker at the Academy of Social Sciences and representative of the "8 July Movement": "I would like to begin by asking a few questions. What should be of greater importance for the workers' movement: The cause that the party serves or the party itself as the only instrument for realizing that cause? Can the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] in its present form serve as the instrument for the constructive realization of our cause, which should be the realization of socialist values? What has to be done today in order to restore to the party the status of such an instrument, to rescue the party for the cause?

"There are two main answers. First, the party has to win back confidence within its own ranks. Once this first task is accomplished, the party must regain public confidence. The first determines the second.

"Esteemed comrades, you have an opportunity to engage in constructive action aimed at accomplishing the first and the second of these tasks; it rests in your hands. However, the key issue is what course of action will increase confidence in the party within its own ranks. The shortest road involves reaching a decision on the date of the congress, the way in which delegates to the congress should be chosen, and preparations for the congress.

"In our '8 July Movement' documents, we said that the congress should be held at the end of the December at the latest. This is not just some idea that we have come up with, but the view of many of the party organizations that we are in touch with all over country. I do not want to get involved here in explaining why such a relatively large section of the party's rank-and-file membership wants the congress to be held quickly. The timetable that Comrade Miller set out is logical, and it would seem that January at the latest would be acceptable.

"A more important issue for the future of our party is the way in which the congress will be prepared and the way in which delegates will be chosen. We have had several dozen meetings with plant party organizations all over the country. I reject the view that the party is inert internally.

"The party, if it is at all alive, is alive precisely in these primary organizations, that is, among its rank-and-file membership. That is why we are for giving the rank-and-file membership a decisive say in matters regarding the future of the party.

"That is why, going on the experience and views of the comrades in the regions, we are in favor of the first version proposed by Comrade Miller, that is, the direct election of delegates to the congress, a proportional representation election based on electoral districts.

"We also propose that the 11th PZPR Congress should be a congress on political choice. There are many viewpoints and currents of thinking in the party. We will show ourselves and the ranks of our party how strong particular currents of thought are. Is our party a party that thinks in a modern, reform-oriented way, or is it a party of sluggish thinking and resistance to far-reaching change?

"Indeed, a further question that we have been asking ourselves is what is meant by a reformist party? I think, and the meetings that I have had appear to confirm my expectations, that the reformist party, or the reformist tendency within the party, is a socialist tendency. I do not use the words social democratic, because they have pejorative connotations in view of the fact that social democracy was denied any kind of recognition in the party for dozens of years and is still considered something negative today."

"We appeal that the election should be held on the basis of lists within individual electoral districts. The lists should represent individual currents that should get through to all party organization during the pre-congress campaign. Primary organization comrades should make a fundamental choice, and it should be a concrete, political choice. This choice, which will be made before the congress, should indicate the future direction in which the party should evolve." [passage omitted]

Zbigniew Rudnicki, first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee at the Automobile Factory: [passage omitted] "The Central Committee stance should accord an appropriate place to an idea that would take the form of a general clause explaining the party's position with regard to the institutional changes for which the party has already paved the way. The essence of the idea should be that in the material production sphere we, as a party, support the introduction into the economic system those instruments, mechanisms, as well as legal and other institutions that make it possible to increase national wealth and achieve high labor productivity levels. The party should reject old ideological dogmas and consciously support these mechanisms, directing all its concern, efforts, and attention to the distribution of assets in accordance with principles of social justice."

"The draft stance also talks about loyal cooperation in accomplishing the tasks of the new government and appeals to committees on this matter. The committee levels that this applies to should be defined. Second, as a party that is in a sense in opposition to the new government, we should be more resolute in stressing our constructive attitude toward it.

"We believe that it is desirable, politically and socially, that stronger, more resolute emphasis should be placed on the fact the party has no goals or aims other than those of working and acting for Poland's wellbeing. It will loyally support the new government in efforts aimed at surmounting the crisis. If these efforts are crowned with success, the party will welcome the success warmly and with satisfaction and differences over political appraisals should present no obstacle to this." [passage omitted]

Zofia Grzyb, Central Committee member: "There is growing understanding, but, at the same time, impatience, bitterness, and regret that many processes are taking place that pass us by or take place without us. Apart from the need for organizational, statutory, or programmatic changes, this impatience is also manifesting itself in the need for changes in the party's leadership.

"Among the rank-and-file membership, the changes in the leadership that have taken place thus far are viewed as being cosmetic changes. At a time of sever crisis, what are needed are people who could guarantee that the pressing problems of working people would be solved, people who could mobilize, galvanize, and prepare the PZPR for the congress.

"This lack of confidence in the leadership particularly applies to the Central Committee and to echelons at the voivodship level. Unfortunately, although I am sorry to have say this, it also applies to me as a member of this committee. In view of this, there is a question that remains to be answered, a question that was also asked at today's plenum: What next? I am also looking for an answer to this question together with the colleagues that I represent. The answer is: It lies in our interest to hold a congress as quickly as possible. If possible, it should be held before the end of the year, if not, then I am in favor of the first date, that is, it should be held by 27 January." [passage omitted]

Piotr Radzikowski, research worker at the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy in Krakow and representative of the "Accord of Academic Community Party Organizations": "I represent one of the horizontal structures—the Krakow Accord of College Party Organizations. It so happens that I have many years experience of working in workers' communities and I am very well acquainted with the attitudes in those communities.

"The movement of Krakow college party organizations was probably the first to respond to the processes that manifested themselves on 4 June in the outcome of the elections. On 8 June the Krakow Polytechnic College Committee issued a statement protesting against the continuation of the existing line, the existing strategy of disaster and inertia, and calling for the immediate commencement of preparations for the 11th Congress and the transformation of the party into a party of the socialist left." [passage omitted]

"At the congress, I think that we should adopt documents that are very succinct and get through to the public and the mass of the party membership, and we should adopt a new statute and a new programmatic declaration, and they should be succinct and capable of being read by anyone. They should contain our basic programmatic options and, above all, outdated formulas such as the dictatorship of the proletariat or that of democratic centralism should be abandoned.

"They should stress national sovereignty and the party's attachment to its traditions. However, I do not think that the party should focus its attention solely on these types of activities, which I would consider to be short-term activities. It should also provide society with a broad vision. This vision should focus on the creation of a strong party of the left of a very broad kind. It should be a party that supports democratic socialism and is based on that part of the working masses which looks toward progress and the future." [passage omitted]

Tomasz Nalecz, research worker at Warsaw University and representative of the "8 July Movement": "Since our first meeting, we have called ourselves the '8 July Movement' for the reform of the party, and we consider what is expressed by that name to be binding on us. We think that the party, which is still a powerful force on the Polish left—and we hope that it will remain so for a long time to come—must change just as all of Poland has changed. It must change, because if it fails to change it will become a 'dinosaur' on the Polish political scene."

"It is sometimes said that we want to see the dissolution of the PZPR. That is wrong. We are just as disgusted as you are, comrades, by those for whom the party is now nothing but a doormat on which to clean their shoes from the mud that stuck to them earlier so that they can cut a better image with the public. We note the weaknesses and mistakes of the PZPR, but our response is one of striving to transform the party, not one of malicious comment. We are convinced that the country needs a strong party of the left, a party that is strong by virtue of its attractive program and the level of public support that it enjoys, but we are not fooling ourselves into thinking that we are close to achieving this goal.

"The latest findings of the Center for Public Opinion Research, which indicate that barely 3 percent of the electorate would vote for us if an election was held today, are very telling. One can understand why this should be so.

"One just has to look out of the window to see lines for literally everything, prices are rising from day to day, and that is enough to understand why the overwhelming majority of Poles would not cast their votes for us today. This is all the more true, because the propaganda arguments being put forward by radio and television, which no longer belong to us, arguments to the effect that these shortcomings are due to the many years of our rule, sound convincing in today's situation. This state of affairs has to be altered, and this will not be accomplished by snapping at the heels of 'Solidarity' ministers. Let the press snap away, although I wish that this would not be confined to the columns of TRYBUNA LUDU, but what we need above all is a new program that would win public approval.

"The adoption of a program of this kind will undoubtedly be linked to a change in the name of the party, but that is really a secondary matter.

"Let us begin by acknowledging that the new party considers operating within the framework of a pluralist political system and parliamentary democracy based on free and proportional representation elections to be an immutable principle. Let us abandon once and for all the clause about the leading role of the party. We should not appeal to any mandates for revolution which, as history teaches us, turns into violence and dictatorship of the Stalinist kind too easily. We should acknowledge that there will only be as much socialism in Poland as society permits, and that permission will be expressed through elections, not only parliamentary elections, but also self-government body elections. A party that is capable of acting in this way has yet to be created.

"It must draw on the rich experiences of Polish socialism, experiences which were brutally and artificially ended in 1948. It is also worth drawing on the experiences of present-day Western social democratic parties, but without the exaggeration and fascination that certain comrades are too easily inclined to display. If we wanted to copy Western social democracy, we would have to begin by restoring capitalism in Poland. Let us leave this task to others, because there is no shortage of advocates of solutions of this kind, whereas we should occupy ourselves with protecting those values which, despite the mistakes, we have managed to introduce and disseminate in Poland over the past 45 years." [passage omitted]

Ludwik Bernacki, deputy leader of the PZPR Deputies Club: " The PZPR Deputies Club is keenly interested in party affairs. Being the party's representative in the Sejm, it bears joint responsibility for the affairs of the country and for the affairs of our party. We have frequently raised the issue of the situation in the party at plenary and presidium meetings. We have also established a team for affairs relating to the relationship between the party's governing bodies and the club and to the situation in the party. We talked about these issues at a joint session of the Politburo, the club presidium, and the team. We set out a whole series of questions and misgivings that have to be resolved during the debate preceding the congress."

"Although the deputies club has affirmed its desire to participate in the Congress Commission in the form of an official resolution, it has not completed its internal debates on these subjects. The deputies have voiced their concern over the situation in the party, as well as their desire to participate in reforming it. On 30 September, the club presidium was charged with submitting the following stance to the Central Committee today, and to have it published by TRYBUNA LUDU a day later:

"'Dear comrades,

"'The PZPR in its present programmatic and organizational form is becoming a thing of the past. The party has found itself in a severe crisis. A large part of society is declining to give us its support. Many PZPR members do not support party policy and are on the point of resigning their membership. The change in our role in the functioning of the state has placed a question mark over the vocational and personal future of many party activists and workers. This has a clear impact on the effectiveness of their actions. Rank-and-file party members find themselves in a particularly difficult situation. Faithful to the ideological values that led them to the party, they must today bear the consequences of the numerous deviations produced by our movement.

"'Successive political crises have caused many party members to leave the party. Some of them are now in the government. We are no longer the only representative of the social left. Unfortunately, today the rank-and-file impetus toward reform is weaker than in the years 1980-81. At the same time, the Central Committee leadership has not displayed the long-awaited ability to act effectively. The current situation dictates that reformist forces in the party should unite. The resolution of the grave number of problems that have accumulated can no longer be postponed. There is a danger that the party will collapse completely if these problems are not solved. Such an outcome would pose a serious danger to the process of social and political reform in Poland. The opportunity that we have is inseparably linked to change of an evolutionary kind. We view everything that postpones the date of the congress with concern. Sluggishness, procrastination, and insufficient boldness will spell the end of the party. We consider the holding of a congress before the end of this year to be the most pressing and important task. A democratically elected working congress is the last hope for a conscious transformation of the party, which should survive intact until the congress.

"'PZPR deputies will take part in preparations for the congress to the best of their ability. We will not only work in the Congress Commission, but will also draw up our own club programmatic platform, which will constitute an offer to the Polish left. We appeal to all our comrades. The time has come for decisive solutions. Whoever feels equal to the task and has hope should join in reforming the party. Whoever has lost faith should give those of us who remain time.

"'We appeal to the leaders of all party echelons. Comrades, the situation in which we have found ourselves places an extraordinary responsibility on us. You will either bear the burden of this responsibility and retain your leadership or you will have no one left to lead. Future political solutions should envisage cooperation among all communities that accept the fundamental values of socialist thought. What is important is where we are heading and not where we come from. We invite all people on the left to talk and to search for solutions that are appropriate to the new social and political reality.

"'Our stance is not a challenge directed against anyone. It is a response to the challenge of the times.'"

Jan Glowczyk, Central Committee member: [passage omitted] "If the present policy course for recovery, a policy that enlists the assistance of hyperinflation, is maintained, the decline in output will be disastrous, and the ensuing economic and social consequences will be hard to predict. In my opinion, the vicious cycle of spiralling inflation can be checked in an immediate way—this is the only way—by simultaneously applying measures that will arrest both the rate of price growth and the rate at which people's incomes are rising.

"The public statements made by members of the government say the very opposite of what I am proposing. What the members of the government envisage is the abolition of price controls, allowing completely unfettered price movements, while simultaneously tightening up on loan policy with respect to the socialized sector and imposing taxes that will curb income originating in that sector. The elimination of administrative and fiscal instruments that restrict the development of private companies, to cite Deputy Premier Balcerowicz, has also been announced.

"If this policy is put into effect, it will lead, directly and rapidly, to a social explosion, which no one and nothing will be able to prevent. In the interests of social calm, which is ephemeral and is still even fragile today, this policy course has to be resolutely opposed. This also has to be done to stop the government, in which we are represented, from adopting desperate economic policy measures that are not based on sound economic calculations." [passage omitted]

[Glowczyk continues] "We have to make ourselves heard and adopt a clear and unambiguous stance that is understood by the party, our supporters, our potential allies, and by a society which is dejected and frequently disoriented because it lacks a locus of support, the necessary signposts, as our colleagues from the deputies' club put it. There are people who fear that this could disrupt social calm and antagonize society and they suggest that we remain silent and wait a little longer for the sake of maintaining calm.

"I propose the following:

"First, it is high time that we said that nothing can be reformed or solved in our country above the heads of party members and above the heads of the public and by acting in a way that runs counter to the interests of the majority of society. Only a naive reformer or an obtuse conservative can believe that it is for society to serve reform rather than for reform to serve society.

"We have to respond with a loud no to this program, to this concept of economic policy which is not supposed to exist, as it is claimed at meetings of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, but is actually already being implemented today.

"Second, an economic policy alternative has to be formulated as quickly as possible, because by saying 'no' without having an alternative, we will only be stamping our feet. Many elements of such a program already exist. These elements have to be brought together. If we have no economic policy of our own, we have no weapon, no basic instrument for waging a parliamentary struggle and no basic element for uniting the party. Without it, we are condemned to drift to and fro and to trail behind the course of events.

"Today, economics lies at the center of politics."

Jerzy Wiatr, professor at Warsaw University: [passage omitted] "What is meant by a new party? Its ideological principles have to be defined in a way that makes what is new about such a party in terms of ideology patently clear to everyone. It must be a party that is firmly committed to parliamentary democracy and rejects the thesis, which is so deeply embedded in the history and traditions of the communist movement, that power is not relinquished once it has been gained, that we have a claim to power based on historic destiny or a provision of the Constitution.

"No! It has to be a party that will struggle for power, that will participate in the exercise of power, but will heed the verdict of the electorate. It will only be able to lay a claim to power through the electorate. In view of this, it will be a party that will firmly and resolutely reject—just as the Politburo did with such great dignity—suggestions such as those made by Romania. [passage omitted]

[Wiatr continues] "Today, now that Soviet restructuring has created entirely new conditions for the entire socialist community, we have to be advocates of a greater democratization of all the structures for cooperation among socialist countries, the Warsaw Pact, and CEMA. It has to be a democratization that will mean that these structures can never again in any way be used to interfere in the internal affairs of individual countries and that they will provide a genuine foundation for close, harmonious cooperation between the socialist states and their parties, but cooperation that is based on equal rights and respect for national sovereignty. Then, once we have secured this basis, we can expand our relations with the West." [passage omitted]

More on Plenum Speeches

AU1110075189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Oct 89 pp 4,5

[Unattributed roundup of floor speeches made during the second half of the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 3 October]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Jan Lluk, first secretary of the Gdansk University College Committee and representative of the Democratic Left Association: "Thank you for inviting me to this meeting. I would like to tell you about some of the views that are current in the Democratic Left Association and the other clubs that are starting up now.

"First, once again, following an interval of 9 years, our group is being headed by comrades who tried to create a new program for a party of the left in the period preceding the Ninth Congress. Nine years' later, some of them are ready to do battle again, but they are increasingly saying that if they fail on this occasion, or if a program is announced that does not go toward satisfying their wishes, they will leave the ranks of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]." [passage omitted]

[Lluk continues] "Today, those who talk about social democracy are generally young people. I would describe them as members of the post-Polish Youth Union generation. I realize that the term social democracy often creates problems in discussion. Some talk about the Swedish model, whereas others talk about the French or Portuguese models, but what this nevertheless expresses is a genuine desire to open up to the political movements in Europe whose ideas young Poles would subscribe to, and that the future program of a party of the left should recognize the experiences and achievements of Eurosocialism." [passage omitted)

[Lluk continues] "The creation of a program for a party of the left is complicated by the existence of a whole series of socialist parties that are situated on the sidelines of the PZPR or have no connection whatsoever with the PZPR. Thus, in a sense, there already exist alternative formulas and proposals from parties established earlier. Fortunately, so far, no single social democratic formula has been announced, although such a formula may be announced shortly. So, this is a race against time, a question of being ahead of the programs that may be formed outside the PZPR. As I already said, something that was very strongly stressed in the yearnings that emerged during the debate was the new position of Polish left wing parties in the European socialist movement. To what extent are we linked to the International, [Socialist International] and to what extent are we linked to current central bodies? This is especially pertinent in view of the fact that the changes taking place in our country are opening our society toward Europe.

"I would like to use this occasion to request that members of the Central Committee adopt a stance on the proposals recently made by the Romanian Communist Party. I would like to say that the public's reaction—I am talking about Gdansk—was one of great exasperation and consternation. I think that this would go toward increasing our credibility in our own country." [passage omitted]

Bogdan Borys, Central Committee member and metalworker, brigade leader at the "Czestochowa" Steelworks: "Today the state of the party is such that we can talk about a grave crisis: Members are losing faith in the sense of membership and are being maligned and razzed.

"People are bluntly saying: For years, we, the rank-and-file, spared no efforts; we carried out the instructions of the party leadership; and we placed our complete trust in those comrades who were first secretaries of our party. "Today, what is being said at party meetings is that our leaders surrendered power voluntarily and abandoned the rank-and-file, while retaining good positions for themselves by way of various new arrangements. Primary party organizations respond with surprise to calls for militancy on the part of members, for bold action, and cohesion in party ranks, when the party rank-and-file sees none of those elements present in the actions of our party leadership. However, what they do see is the systematic way in which the party is being removed from the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although these ministries are headed by members of the present PZPR Central Committee Politburo." [passage omitted]

[Borys continues] "It is widely held that no more than 20 percent of the current membership of the party will join a new party if it does not describe itself as party that will champion the affairs of workers. Workers view the 'new' party that the '8 July Movement' wants to create with particular suspicion. They say that it is best not to belong to any party at the present time. However, there is a struggle underway among party leaders, a struggle for new arrangements, new symbols, but the purpose of these maneuvers is not lose influence and always to be in the forefront."

[Borys continues] "It is being said that we have taken our opponents' charge of being unable to reform ourselves too much to heart and that given a little more time, we will reform ourselves to death, that is, we will eliminate ourselves. There is concern among the workers in our party ranks about how trustworthy the reformers are and there are misgivings about the goals that they want to achieve. Our leadership's mute acceptance of the '8 July Movement' arouses further suspicion.

"Anyone who possesses a little imagination and common sense knows that the new social and economic order, that of pluralism and capitalism, is not going to ensure equality of opportunity. Thus, this prompts the question of whether a party that espouses the ideals of socialism in theory and supports something entirely different in practice can enjoy credibility in the eyes of the workers. This is important, because the crisis in the party is the result of a loss of faith among the party's rank-and-file members.

"I have a question: Do we, the comrades in this hall, not feel responsible for this state of affairs? This question is addressed to the highest leadership of our party in particular.

"The party's rank-and-file members have made a harsh assessment of us, the members of the Central Committee. There is growing criticism of Comrade Jaruzelski, the former Central Committee first secretary. Party members have a right to demand that the party leadership account for its actions, because all the concepts and decisions that have been adopted in this hall have led to the situation that we now have.

"Although not all of us were in favor of deregulation, collectively, as the Central Committee, we opted for it. What has deregulation done for us? It has caused inflation to spiral. Prices are rising every day, and the shops are empty. The authorities are passively watching the course of events, and no one knows where this is going to end. The cost of this crisis is being borne by the party's rank-and-file members, the workers' class. We are playing with fire, and the whole thing may end in an uncontrollable social explosion." [passage omitted]

[Borys continues] "We believe that party tasks during the time leading up to the 11th Congress should take the form of concrete steps and concrete actions. Comrades want 70 percent of the delegates elected to attend the congress, which should take place at the end of 1989, to be workers.

"Comrades have reacted critically to the proposal concerning the composition of the Central Congress Commission, on which workers will probably represent a minority. Would it not be better if the Central Congress Commission were to be formed by way of democratic elections held at the voivodship congress commission level?" [passage omitted]

Rakowski's Closing Speech

AU1110085389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Oct 89 p 3

[Closing speech by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the second part of the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 4 October]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades. To end our discussion I too would like to say a few words. Listening to our plenum debates gave me great pleasure, because the most prominent element to emerge is the concern shown for the future of our party, and, to be more specific, our movement. I think you will agree that the discussions were about realities. They raised many interesting and important issues. Without doubt, these will be analyzed by the congress commission. You may think me excessively optimistic, but I leave this plenum psychologically strengthened. The conclusion I have drawn from the results of the opinion poll and our discussions is that the party is indeed a reforming force. Gossip that says the party is inherently against reforms is a falsification of the truth.

The appointment of the congress commission and fixing the date for the congress formally indicates that the party is now in the period of precongress discussion. I say formally, because the discussion of the issues that are important for the party and its future has been going on for several months now. No doubt these issues will dominate the months preceding the congress.

We are all well acquainted with the causes that have raised the level of interest in the party and its future. There is no need to repeat them here. This heightening of interest has also manifested itself in the self-organization of a certain part of the party and a certain number of its members into political clubs and discussion circles, as for example, the "July 8 Movement," or the movement of the basic party organizations in higher education in Krakow.

Talking about the composition of the congress commission, I wish to explain one matter, namely, I asked Comrade President Wojciech Jaruzelski whether he wanted to sit on the commission. After an exchange of opinions, I have come to the conclusion that owing to his presidential office, this solution would not be a happy one. However, Comrade Jaruzelski has expressed his readiness to help with the preparations for the congress. On behalf of the party, I accepted this offer of cooperation.

The Central Committee is receiving projects of varying quality which analyze the party's external situation and internal state. Large numbers of these propositions concern themselves with the party's future. We can thus state that we are witnessing an evident intellectual revival and are now passing from the depressing feeling of defeat toward an offensive posture against the challenges that the rapidly evolving situation brings.

The party leadership is taking an unequivocally positive stance vis-a-vis all initiatives that seek to revitalize party thinking. Our party, and the party that emerges from the 11th Congress, cannot act effectively in recapturing society's trust, without a strong and broadly developed intellectual backing. I mention this because despite the unequivocally formulated stance, we still meet opinions that the Central Committee and the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] is looking at all these initiatives with a jaded eye. I ask the comrades who may form such opinion in the heat of debate, and who subsequently spread these opinions throughout the country, to desist from doing so. By doing this, they produce unwanted misunderstandings and tensions that we can do without. In our everyday activity we have to face real dangers, so please spare us the illusory ones, as they take time and energy to dispel.

The course of today's debate and the party's entry into the period of preparations for the 11th Congress prompt one to make a few reflections that may prove of some use to all those comrades and organizations that want to take an active part in the precongress discussions.

Mobilizing our energies for the congress we first have to ask ourselves about the place that our party has occupied in the life of the nation during these past decades, and what this has meant. The defeat suffered in the Sejm and Senate elections and the resulting cries of triumph from the victors, have given rise to a view within party ranks that the party has failed in its historical mission and that the people really did reject it. In a nutshell, it was never accepted in the hearts and minds of the people. This view was actively disseminated by the anticommunists; the determined enemies of the PZPR. Opposition mass media and the radio stations broadcasting in Polish repeat this view daily. The truth, however, is different. The party as a structure is deeply embedded in the national consciousness. Many of our compatriots may complain about it, point to its defeats and setbacks, and compound its flaws, but at the same time they continue to regard it as an indivisible part of their national life.

The party has always been and continues to be present in the life of the nation and state. It has become synonymous with social justice. The secretaries of the basic party organizations and the factory committees regularly receive complaints from wronged citizens to whom fate has been unkind; who are defenseless against the soulless bureaucrat; and those who are forever wandering from one office to another without result. It is often the case that these citizens did not receive appropriate help—it is well known that in our ranks too the germ of bureaucratic insensitivity to the worker has been responsible for much of the damage. How the party must react to complaints raised by citizens has today assumed specific importance. Each wrong that is righted means that we recapture a bit of lost ground. The party does not only need discussions on its future and its program, but more importantly, it needs the everyday, difficult organic work among the people and for the people. It would be a fatal mistake if during the period before the congress, we were only to occupy ourselves with our internal problems. The belief that we only need to work out a good program and change party structures in order to emerge on top is pure fantasy. The new situation in which we find ourselves brings different results. Those comrades who are bound to the party for better or for worse, are worried by the news of resignations from the party. This was to be expected. Whatever the motives for resigning from the party—and we can only respect those that are done on moral grounds—there is no doubt that all those people who joined the party purely on career grounds, are leaving it now. These people had nothing, absolutely nothing, in common with the party, except to secure a good position for themselves. We must not mourn their departure. Things will be easier without them. Among those who are leaving there are those who do so out of fear of possible reprisals (there are signals that this may not just be a mere possibility), even though they hear assurances to the effect that professionalism and loyalty to the state authorities will be the only criteria. We have to understand these fears. Finally, there are those who are returning their party cards thinking it is high time to change horses and begin serving new masters. They think that by returning their party cards they will cease to be regarded as reds by the opponents of our party. These are false hopes. They will still be pointed out and will have to pay dearly for their favor, often at great loss of dignity. We also have to anticipate that these resignations will be used by the party's opponents, who will raise the cry of party crisis. We must meet this clamor with calm. The only logical reply is a consolidation of our ranks and the strengthening of links between comrades. We must mutually assist and support one another. This is strictly linked with the preservation of party unity.

In the name of the party leadership I would like to express deep satisfaction that the comrades who spoke here today expressed themselves in favor of preserving party unity. It should be understood that by stressing party unity, I am strictly thinking of practical considerations. The leadership, and I, strongly stress party unity, because it is needed to meet all those forces that seek to break the party's back and to push it aside onto the sidelines. It should be clear that by unity we do not mean a funereal silence. Looking realistically at the developing situation, we have to be ready for constant political confrontation regardless of the accepted fact that Poland and the nation, whom we wish to serve, needs, as it has never needed before, a harmonious cooperation of all political forces. History will judge not only us, but all the different political groupings, trade union and otherwise, whether we were able to achieve this aim.

Embarking on this precongress phase, we wish to repeat again our unflinching readiness for partner-like cooperation with all the political forces who proclaim they want to act for the good of the people.

Esteemed comrades, we shall all rest one day in the soil on which we were born. That means what we leave behind us is very important. What ought to and what must remain? Above all loyalty to socialist ideals, their defense, and the political battle against those conceptions that want to push Poland off the road of socialist development. Socialism is not a concept that was thought up by the "dirty commies." It is the dream and aim toward which the mass of humanity over the ages has been struggling. The socialist movement in Poland, as Comrade Nalecz has pointed out, is over 100 years old. It has always attracted the best Polish minds.

Noting the intellectual vitality in the party, initiated by the comrades from academic circles, one can today state the conviction that we shall enter the last decade of this century with a greatly enriched tradition of Polish socialist thinking.

Esteemed Comrades! Our sincere belief that Poland needs the firm feeling of joint answerability among all the forces of the political left and right, from the center and the wings, is not always and not everywhere received with understanding and a cooperation imbued with a respect for the mutual effort.

The preservation of the feeling of joint responsibility in the ranks of the party for the nation and its fate, and the reasoned support for the efforts of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, could be jeopardized if the isolated attacks on party members and organizations, for example, the factory committees, lead to a general attack.

Yesterday I received a statement from the PZPR factory committee at the "Piast" coal mine which deserves to be made more widely known. Copies of this statement have also been received by the president, the Sejm and Senate marshals, and the premier. The comrades from "Piast" state that the open attack on the party factory organization which occurred during the manifestation on 27 September, only leads to divisions among the workforce and does nothing to further its welfare. I will cite a passage which illustrates some of the names that PZPR members have been called: "by calling us thieves, and demanding our self-liquidation and exclusion from the workplace, they show themselves to be devoid of any political and personal culture. This could lead to court proceedings. By threatening the workforce with unemployment, the management with verification, and by calling the administration trash, they only deepen the workforce's suspicion toward the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki."

Yes comrades, this is also present day Poland. We must not forget this during our preparations for the congress.

The organizers of the manifestation, our comrades from "Piast" have posed us several difficult problems. I should remind you that at this manifestation it was useless to imagine friendliness a commodity especially valued among coal miners. "Solidarity"—our comrades stress—is usurping the right to decide whether to strike or not. Bear in mind that at that mine there are 2,500 "Solidarity" members out of a total workforce of 10,500. The workforce should decide for itself. If "Solidarity" at "Piast"—our comrades write—is seeking a legal pretext to delegate two workers to the PZPR factory committee, then it should also make clear why and on what grounds it delegated seven workers instead of four to the committee. All are paid from the coal mine fund. The whole workforce, including the PZPR members—they write—are working to maintain them.

I have allowed myself to bring this matter up, because our comrades at "Piast" deserve recognition. I am convinced that the Central Committee will thank them heartily for their tenacity. We and all the comrades who are not hiding in corners, and who are defending the good name of the party and the PZPR members, are with you comrades from the "Piast" mine. Turning to the national and the mining authorities of "Solidarity" we are making the following appeal. Please do not tell us that you are incapable of staying the "wrath of the people." There is discipline among your ranks as was illustrated by the appointment of Lech Walesa's man to the position of editor in chief of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSCI. This discipline is stronger and more resolute than anywhere else. You are in a position to put a stop to these strikes; strikes which in 1988-89 caused the outflow of money for no reason. You are able to restrain the violent attacks on PZPR members in the coal mines and in factories. People who know about these things say that the reason behind these attacks is to demonstrate to the "Solidarity" leaders that the "Solidarity" factory aktivs are active and ready to go onto the offensive.

Esteemed comrades! The responsibilities that have been put upon me by the Central Committee make it impossible for me to back off from difficult matters, to avoid calling a spade a spade, or not form suggestions that can be unpalatable. I wholeheartedly endorse Comrade Swirgon's speech on our relationship to the last 10 years of People's Poland. One has to accept with pain and remorse that we allowed the historical achievements of People's Poland to become reviled. What is worse, arguments in its defense were heard so rarely. Where are we to seek our roots? I would venture to say that if the precongress discussion brings a wholesale condemnation of the last 40 years—including the last 8 difficult years which were nevertheless full of positive facts—then I as a long-time member of the party and one who in the zeal of his youth joined the powerful process of revolutionary changes, will feel deprived of something very valuable. I believe this will also hold true for the whole postwar generation which participated in the building of People's Poland. I appeal to all those comrades who are directing their gaze toward the future to look honestly at our past. A party that abhors its past really does not deserve any respect from its political opponents.

I wish to mention the interesting statement made by comrade Jan Glowczyk. He suggested that the party work out its own economic program which, if I understood him correctly, would first and foremost be an answer to the barely perceptive program of the economic policies of the government. I consider this suggestion as worthy of attention and believe that there will be no objections why the Central Committee Economic Commission should not embark on this project. Lastly, the final matter, namely our relationship with our neighbors and Europe generally. We perceive a worrying trend which we have to bring to the attention of the party and society. Several Polish politicians must be warned against trying to convert, if that is the correct word, our neighbors to our way of thinking. If we are so sensitive about our own sovereignty, we must respect other people's sovereignty. This position which has been adopted by our party is dictated by a well understood national and state interest and not only by the interest of our party. We are particularly worried by the continuing and increasing incidence of anti-Soviet sentiment; sentiments that are aggressive and adventurist.

I believe that the government cannot idly stand by when international norms, recognized by all the civilized countries of the world, are being flouted. The breaking of windows and the throwing of stones at the buildings that are occupied by Soviet diplomatic representations, has nothing to do with democracy. Comrades, expressions of support for Gorbachev's perestroyka are all for nothing if this support is manifested by an indifference to what occurred in several Polish towns on 1 and 17 September. Remaining indifferent to such matters does not serve our image as a mature society.

Esteemed comrades! Today one can say that we are rapidly advancing toward the 11th congress of our party. We are faced by vast and daunting tasks. In greeting the revival in the party, we are nevertheless conscious that it still falls far below what the party needs and expects. All of us here assembled believe, as I do, that in the next few months we shall succeed in reanimating the party and reawakening its interest in the future, the new shape of the party and its programmatic contents that the congress commission is to prepare.

Comrades, we stand before a historic opportunity. One should use this word very sparingly, but in this case I think it has to be used. What does our opportunity depend on? I think it depends on the fact that looking at it objectively, we are in a position to show the world that progress and socialism can be built and attained in democratic conditions. We can proceed to this splendid and lofty aim without having recourse to dictatorship. Let us seize this chance, for by doing so we shall pass into history for ever. Not only Polish history, but the history of world socialism and the great progressive socialist thought.

PZPR Commission Meets in Warsaw 9 Oct

LD0910222689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] The Central Congress Commission, created at the 15th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee has assembled in Warsaw for its first meeting. Its task is to prepare the 11th Party Congress. The commission created two teams, a statute and organizational team, and a programmatic team, from its own members. Opening the proceedings, Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that members of the party and members of the commission cannot only engage in preparations for the PZPR Congress. We should observe what is happening in Poland's internal life, so that the PZPR and its members will be able to adopt a stance in relation to the most important problems.

Reportage on Workers Protests, Strikes

Transport Plant Strike Ends

LD0910162189 Warsaw PAP in English 1402 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Lublin, Oct. 9—The workers of the transportation equipment plant in the locality of Swidnik near Lublin started work today after a two-day strike.

The strike organizing committee decided to suspend the protest action. It was decided that the management would present a programme how to fully use production capacities of the plant till October 20.

The managament withdrew its decision to join the "Sipma" company which was to start the production of Polish-Italian mini tractors in Lublin. It was also agreed that an electoral committee, would be set up urgently to prepare elections of a new employees' council.

Miners' Trade Unions Protest

LD1010020189 Warsaw PAP in English 2222 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Katowice, Oct. 9—A protest action consisting in placing flags on mines and mine-related plants began today after being announced by the presidium of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions affiliated to the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] All-Poland Trade Union Alliance.

It is to last till October 15. The organizers of the protest hold that the decision to start the protest came in the midst of deteriorating living conditions caused by an avalanche of price hikes and because the "round table" arrangements on ratios between pay in mining and industry have not been met.

The protest is not supported by miners belonging to Solidarnosc.

Miners Continue 'Protest Action'

LD1010123789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Some of the mines in Silesia are decked with flags, and thus protest action, which is endorsed by the Federation of Mining Industry Trade Unions [OPZZ]. Stefan Piwonski, deputy chairman of the federation comments:

[Begin Piwonski recording] The protest action has been started by a statutory body of the federation—the presidium—following direct consultations with the chairmen of the enterprise trade union organizations. The protest action has a basic aim: To lead to talks with the government side; and to settle matters which were taken up at the roundtable, specifically at the mining subtable. It is mainly a question of the pay ratios in the mining industry; maintaining these ratios in relation to the (?processing) industry disencouraging the types of work which has recently been carried out; and for the government to submit to the Sejm a draft law, which has not been consulted with the trade union movement. It deals with the maintenance of the payment of bonuses, particularly in the cooper basin, where it is quite an important element of the pay system; hence the protest action. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

OPZZ in the Lubin Basin has also announced a protest action. Flags and posters have appeared on the enterprises belonging to the copper mining-metallurgical combine. The miners are protesting the breaking of roundtable pay agreements. They were supposed to have been maintained at a ratio of two to one—twice as high as the average pay in industry. Apart from this, in the enterprises [passage indinstict] the principle of consultations on the sharing of profits with trade unions which (?is also caused by) placing an 80 billion sanction tax on the Lubin combine for exceeding the pay fund. The protest action, which is to last until 15 October, is running peacefully. Normal work continues in all departments.

Health Workers Strike for 4th Day

LD1010090989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Representatives of health service workers from 30 clinics have been protesting for 4 days in the Warsaw surgery on Ostroleka Street in Praga Poludnie as well as in the hospital on Grenadierow Street. The remaining clinics of this district are carrying out emergency duties. Regardless of the rises proposed by the Health Ministry the strikers are demanding an additional 200,000 zloty per employee.

PRAVDA Report on Yeltsin U.S. Visit Noted

AU0910193889

[Editorial report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 5 October, on page 6, under the headline "From the Foreign Press—An Article Published in the Italian Paper LA REPUBBLICA Reprinted by PRAVDA" carries a 950-word report on the article signed by Vittorio Zucconi, published in the Italian paper LA REPUBBLICA, and reprinted by the Soviet daily PRAVDA, on the recent visit that Boris Yeltsin, people's deputy and member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, recently paid to the United States. SCINTEIA reports on the PRAVDA version of the article, that says, "Boris Yeltsin travels through America like a hurricane, his words flying and returning. He leaves behind a trail that takes the shape of catastrophic forecasts, insane expenditures, interviews, and mostly the spell of the famous black-label Kentucky whisky 'Jack Daniels.' He empties one-half-liter bottles by himself in his hotel room in Baltimore, where he has arrived at the invitation of John Hopkins University." SCINTEIA continues the report on Yeltsin's drinking habits in the "5 days and 5 nights that he spent in the United States" where, in general, "he slept for about 2 hours per day and emptied two bottles of vodka, four of whisky, and an unknown number of cocktails at various official receptions." After the report on Yeltsin's drinking habits in the United States, SCINTEIA reports on his expenditures and on the fact that Yeltsin "receives about 30 million Italian lira for lectures and interviews, however he expressed the wish to donate this money for research on the AIDS virus and for the treatment of the sick in the USSR." To the question whether "the restructuring is correct or a mistake," Yeltsin reportedly replies that "the strategy is correct but the tactic being used is incorrect." SCINTEIA also reports on Yeltsin's statements "which were reproduced by all television stations and indefinitely repeated" about his views on Gorbachev, saying that "Gorbachev still has one half a year before the revolution from the bottom to the top is going to break out." SCINTEIA concludes its report on the PRAVDA reprint with the note that now Yeltsin "has everything he has wished for: whisky, dollars, trinkets, and videocassettes with "Rambo" and he has been "delicately" treated by the "nomenklatura" in Washington.

The only thing he lacked was people, the embrace of the masses, who could not tell the difference between Yeltsin's car and other black cars which were engaged in the middle of Washington traffic just like the "ZIL" and "Chaika" government cars in Moscow."

Ceausescu Telegrams Hungary's Nyers on Election

AU1010175489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1612 GMT 10 Oct 89

["Congratulatory Telegram"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/10/1989—RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu sent the president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Rezso Nyers, the following telegram:

On your election as president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, I congratulate you and wish you success in fulfilling the mission you have been entrusted with.

I express my belief that by working jointly in keeping with the principles of equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, the relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, between our countries will follow a positive course, of cooperation, understanding and good neighbourliness, in the interest of the Romanian people and of the Hungarian people, of the cause of socialism, of progress and peace in the world.

Ceausescu Attends GDR Anniversary Ceremonies

AU0710152089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0730 GMT 7 Oct 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Attends Festive Meeting Marking the 40th German Democratic Republic Anniversary"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Berlin AGERPRES, 7/10/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary and president of Socialist Republic of Romania, attended Friday 6 October the festive meeting called at the Republic Palace in Berlin by the CC [Central Committee] of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany or SED], the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the GDR National Front to mark the 40th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic.

Before the festive meeting, President Nicolae Ceausescu, the other heads of foreign delegations had met with Chairman Erich Honecker who received the warm congratulations and good wishes extended to the party and state leadership and to the people of the German Democratic Republic on the 40th anniversary of the creation of the first German state of workers and peasants.

In the presidium of the meeting were Erich Honecker, general secretary of the CC of the SUPG, chairman of the GDR Council of State, full and alternate members of the Political Bureau, secretaries of the CC of the SUPG, other members of the GDR party and state leadership, and the heads of certain foreign delegations.

President Nicolae Ceausescu took his seat in the festive meeting's presidium beside the GDR party and state leadership and the heads of foreign delegations. Taking part were also the Romanian officials accompanying the RCP and Romanian state leader in the German Democratic Republic.

The meeting participants were greeted by Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front.

Chairman Erich Honecker spoke about the significance of the observance and of the big achievements of the GDR in the years of socialist construction.

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, addressed the meeting.

After the festive meeting, President Nicolae Ceausescu together with Chairman Erich Honecker, with the other chief foreign delegates to the festivities took their seats in the official stand on Unter den Linden to watch the traditional demonstration of the Free German Youth.

Editorial Marks GDR's 40th Anniversary

AU1010095389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Oct 89 p 5

[Editorial: "The Great Holiday of the Friendly GDR People"]

[Text] Today is the 40th anniversary of the event of historic significance that marked the founding of the GDR. Crowning the longstanding struggle waged by the proletariat, by the advanced, and progressive forces, led by the Communists, against class exploitation and oppression, and against fascism and imperialism, the memorable political act of 7 October 1949 marked the emergence of the first worker-peasant state on German soil. Through the founding of the GDR a solemn pledge was made, namely to eliminate fascism and its roots and to consistently proceed along the road of peaceful work and of building the new and superior system—socialism.

In the period that has elapsed since the founding of the GDR, the workers class, in alliance with the peasantry and intelligentsia linked with the people, has worked under the experienced leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], has accomplished great revolutionary transformations, and carried out tremendous construction work, thus demonstrating the creative energy of people who have been freed from exploitation and who are free and masters of their destiny. An important event in the country's history was the Eighth SED Congress of 1971, which paved the way to a new and particularly fruitful era in the activation of all socioeconomic activities.

By overcoming tremendous difficulties caused by the destruction of the war, the GDR turned into a socialist state with a vigorous and constantly developing economy, and with a prospering science and culture. By building an industry of the first order, including all branches of modern industry, the GDR currently achieves, in just 3 weeks, the equivalent of the output of the year when the republic was founded, thus asserting itself among the most developed nations from an economic point of view. Science and technology have become ever more effective levers of the intensive development of industry, and the whole production growth is being achieved by increasing labor productivity. By blending the experience of peasants and the achievements of science and technology, socialist agriculture is also characterized by high productivity.

The 10-fold increase in the national revenue tellingly sums up the GDR's economic achievements. In the past 20 years, almost 10 million citizens have benefited from new or modernized housing, and next year's aim is to solve this social problem of housing. Similarly, through vigorous development, education and culture are asserting themselves as more and more important elements of progress in all social activities. The material and cultural standard of living of all people has constantly increased on these lasting foundations.

The GDR's important achievements in all social areas and the ensurance of a dignified life for all working people in towns and villages are telling proof of the superiority of the new system and emphasize the truth even more, according to which only socialism creates conditions for a free and prosperous life for all citizens and for the whole nation.

Consistently working in the spirit of the motto: "War should never ever emanate from German soil," which was its guide from the very first days of its founding, the friendly country is also carrying out an intensive and constructive activity in the international arena for disarmament, the achievement of security in Europe, and for detente and cooperation. By implementing the comprehensive programs for socioeconomic development, through its long-term guidelines aimed at the many-sided development of the new system, and through the foreign policy it promotes, the GDR is asserting itself as a powerful element of socialism and peace.

The GDR people also looks with confidence to the future. In the process of preparing for the 12th SED Congress, scheduled to be held next spring, the tasks faced by the party in the current stage have crystallized, as have the targets that have to be fulfilled in the next 5-year plan and up to the year 2000, thus organically blending continuity with the renewal of the work of building socialism. The SED bases its activity on the essential principles and values of scientific socialism—development of the socialist ownership of all major means of production, constantly strengthening the party's role and bond with the people's masses, and deepening and perfecting socialist democracy—and works toward the creative application of general laws to the specific conditions in the GDR. Formulating the basic concept by which the SED abides, Comrade Erich Honecker said: "We will never forget our goal: Further building and perfecting the developed socialist society. We will always turn to what is new and we will not deviate from the road we have embarked upon, but, on the contrary, we will consistently march forward. This is the essence of the dialectical unity between continuity and renewal."

The focus of the party's current and future policy is to continue to ensure the dynamic growth rate of the national economy on the basis of more and more broadly applying the most modern achievements of the scientific-technological revolution by always bearing in mind that this process has to take place while ensuring jobs for all citizens.

Sincerely rejoicing at the noteworthy accomplishments of the friendly GDR people in socialist construction, the Romanian people also harbor feelings of satisfaction with the close relations of friendship and cooperation that have been established and are developing between our countries—relations like those between comrades of class, work, and struggle for achieving the same noble ideals. As is known, Romania warmly greeted the founding of the state of the German working people. The relations of solidarity between the two countries are reflected in the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance and in joint declarations signed at the summit level. Similarly, telling proof of Romania's solidarity with the GDR is our country's firm stance in support of the recognition of the GDR by all states on the basis of international law. In the same spirit, Romania—by firmly condemning interference into the domestic affairs of other countries and the attempt by the imperialist forces to destabilize the situation in some socialist countries—has criticized the provocative actions taken of late against the GDR. Through President Nicolae Ceausescu's voice, Romania has expressed its full solidarity with the people of the GDR, a friendly and allied state, who are fulfilling the great targets formulated by the founders of scientific socialism in their homeland.

The relations of cooperation between Romania and the GDR have constantly developed. A decisive role in the development of these relations was played and is being played by the ties of friendship between the RCP and SED and by the meetings and talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Erich Honecker, which have given a vigorous impetus to mutually advantageous cooperation and have opened new prospects. Referring to the development of cooperation between Romania and GDR, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said: "We value the elevated stage of these relations and want them to develop constantly and to assert themselves ever more vigorously as an example of relations between friendly socialist states, which are actively cooperating in building the new system and in ensuring progress and peace in the world!" In turn, Comrade Erich Honecker said: "We can justifiably say that the relations of friendship between the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania have reached a high level and are constantly developing. Cooperation between the two parties and friendship between our peoples are developing to the benefit of both countries."

Within these relations as a whole, economic cooperation holds a special place. Ever since 1960 and up to now, our commodity exchange has increased more than 12-fold. The share of production sharing and specialization is also increasing; they make up 40 percent of the total of our exchanges; these relations are very close in branches contributing to technical progress.

Romania and the GDR are also strengthening their cooperation in the international arena, and, together with the other socialist countries and with the progressive forces everywhere, are working to achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, a peaceful settlement, by negotiations of disputes between states, and to ensure the establishment of an atmosphere of detente, security, understanding, and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world. It is the conviction of both peoples that the constant development of relations of friendship and many-sided cooperation between Romania and the GDR constitutes an important contribution to the fulfillment of the socioeconomic programs of the two countries in accordance with their basic interests and with the general interests of socialism, peace, and progress throughout the world.

Loncar Attends UN General Assembly in New York

Visits NYT Offices

LD0610230889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] New York, 6 Oct (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs, who is in New York attending the 44th regular session of the UN General Assembly, has visited the editorial offices of the leading New York daily 'THE NEW YORK TIMES', where he had talks with foreign political journalists.

Loncar spoke to members of the editorial board of the New York paper about the recent summit of the movement of the nonaligned countries in Belgrade and the new nonaligned orientation. During the talks, Loncar was asked many questions on the foreign and domestic policy of Yugoslavia, and the U.S. journalists expressed particular interest in the Yugoslav reforms, the difficulties in reorientation to a market economy, as well as the interdependence of the reforms in the East European countries and Yugoslavia.

The federal secretary, in detailed replies, stressed the role of the federal government, especially its program to combat inflation and the economic difficulties.

In the talks there was also discussion of the forthcoming visit of FEC President Ante Markovic to the United States, as well as of relations between the two countries.

Ends Talks With Foreign Ministers

LD0610231889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2133 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] United Nations, October 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar's talks with his colleagues from non-aligned countries today focused on the implementation of the decisions of the Belgrade non-aligned summit and the priorities in the movement's activities.

Loncar's talks with the foreign ministers of Ethiopia, Seychelles, Pakistan, Sudan, Jordan, Cambodia and Burkina Faso ended the rich exchange of diplomatic activity at the 44th regular U.N. General Assembly session. He spoke in New York with over 50 foreign ministers from non-aligned, East European and developed Western countries, as well as those with which Yugoslavia is only beginning cooperation.

His counterparts almost unanimously assessed that Yugoslavia successfuly organized the non-aligned sumit and that the modernization of the movement has already yielded [words indistinct] the U.N. General Assembly session.

Loncar's counterparts, particularly from developed countries, pointed out that Yugoslavia is a reliable partner [word indistinct] efforts for economic reform should be upheld.

USSR's NOVOYE VREMYA Interviews Loncar

LD0110160289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Oct (TANJUG)—The non-aligned are clearly making it known that they will always support everything in the world which moves in a positive direction but that this movement also involves the search for a balance in the world which will grasp the present dramatic situation in the economic and social sphere, in other words both political and economic detente, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar stressed in an interview with the Soviet weekly NOVOYE VREMYA.

From this point of view, Loncar said in the interview, which this magazine publishes in today's issue, for Yugoslavia, as president of the movement of 102 countries, it will be a complex 3-year effort to harmonize the paths for the realization of their presence and the forms of participation by the movement in world developments—but at the same time this will be its main task.

Assessing that the ninth nonaligned summit in Belgrade fulfilled expectations, Budimir Loncar confirmed that the changes in the world over the last few years have also influenced the change of the role and priorities of the Nonaligned Movement but also that, in a certain way, they have had an impact on bringing about these changes.

Replying to the question of how Yugoslavia is succeeding in harmonizing its role as a member of the Nonaligned Movement and as a European country, Budimir Loncar said that this skill of harmonization is unnecessary because in practical terms its two "roles" complement each other in today's European conditions. This was not a dilemma in the past either for Yugoslavia, because, Loncar stressed, "it has simply been a European nonaligned country and all its interests were attained in this vocation, in this European and nonaligned linkage." He illustrated this by the fact that it is no accident that the First Nonaligned Conference was held precisely in Belgrade, in Europe, because in practical terms on the border between two world blocs it was able to announce in the most convincing way what this new movement in fact wants, what it has to offer, and what it seeks from others. "In other words Europe and the nonaligned have never been mutually exclusive," Loncar concluded.

Replying to the question of how Yugoslavia is trying to be late for the "train" of European economic integration, Budimir Loncar said that it is doing this by economic and social reforms, by having a market orientation and by its efforts to be competitive and to standardize its own products and to generally harmonize itself with the demands and relations prevailing in the European market. On the other hand, Loncar observed, it is not in the interests of economic integration and the division of labor in the world eocnomy that the gap between the EEC, EFTA [European Free Trade Association] and the others should further widen, although it is understandable that each one wants to maintain its advantages.

Speaking about the kind of place Yugoslavia has in the conception of a peaceful, common European home, Budimir Loncar stressed that such a direction of development is fully suited to it. "Today, when more and more investors willing to invest in the construction of this homeland are appearing, our goal takes on very concrete outlines, and we are closer to the realization of our own dream and there is no reason for us in such circumstances not to feel really comfortable, because, I would say, it is our natural environment."

Replying to a question on the state of, and prospects for, relations between the Balkan countries, Loncar stressed that they are aware that the Balkans cannot remain aloof from the positive trends in Europe. The cooperation of the Balkan countries not only ensures for the Balkans their European identity, which justifiably belongs to them, but also eases the resolution of the mutual problems of the Balkan countries. Regarding prospects, Loncar added, it is indicative that there is discussion today among the Balkan countries on questions on which there are very differing views and that this, in itself, is a positive tendency, which strengthens optimism in the future of Balkan cooperation.

Socialism can find its future in the new material and spiritual values, and this is what we are now searching for, each in his own way, through economic and social reforms, Loncar said, replying to a question on how to make socialism more attractive. Regarding relations between the socialist countries, there is no reason for their cooperation to be less as a result of the difficulties they each face but, Loncar believes, there is also no reason for this "cooperation" to be performed at any price, and least of all at the price of some ideological affinity or imposed inclination.

Replying to a question on Yugoslav-Soviet relations, Budimir Loncar assessed that they are stable and have been successful for a long time now and that our friendship has a present-day content but that there are also some problems—not political but economic problems. They can be resolved, Loncar added, in the discovery of more dynamic forms of cooperation, closer to the contemporary trends of development in the world.

Assessing the present situation in Yugoslavia, Budimir Loncar said that it could briefly be reduced to "economic difficulties plus a reformed orientation, plus a social transformation, plus overall democratization, equal energies which are being liberated, potential which is being aroused, but also a multitude of problems accompanying every—even the most positive—intervention in the economic and social being of the country."

Replying finally to several questions "of a personal nature," Budimir Loncar replied that he had not come to the Foreign Affairs Secretariat by accident because he had spent the whole of his working life in this profession though he had not planned to, "because all the official channels through which I have passed in it, did not inevitably have to lead to the top." What he believes to be the most difficult thing in this job is, in his words, the circumstances that the Foreign Affairs Secretariat must constantly move with the speed of changes and "in these changes one should be physicaly and mentally present, but at the same time should live with the whole of one's being in one's own institution and with both one's feet in one's own country," the federal secretary for foreign affairs said in his interview to the Soviet weekly NOVOYE VREMYA.

Pancevski Congratulates Honecker on Anniversary

LD0610103489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0814 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Oct (TANJUG)—On the occasion of the national holiday of the German Democratic Republic, Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, has sent—in his own name and on behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium—a telegram of sincere congratulations to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee.

Macedonian Presidency Censures Bulgarians

LD0510193389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1634 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Skopje, Oct 5 (TANJUG)—The presidency of Yugoslavia's Republic Macedonia today censured the Bulgarian authorities' discriminatory behaviour towards Yugoslav nationals.

Censured were harsh acts of the Bulgarian [words indistinct] towards Yugoslav citizens and [word indistinct] the latest step of the Bulgarian organs by which Yugoslavs are brought under obligation to change a certain amount of hard currency when entering Bulgaria for visit or transit.

Macedonia's Presidency assessed that these steps and conduct of the Bulgarian side are detrimental to the development of good-neighbourly relations and contrary both to Bulgaria's declarations on cooperation with Yugoslavia and to the accepted international obligations concerning free circulation of people, commodities and information.

It was also observed that these measures and behaviour of the Bulgarian customs officials make up only one of the many examples of discrimination of the Bulgarian authorities towards Yugoslav nationals, especially those who come in from Macedonia.

Chief of Staff Receives Greek Counterpart

AU0510194489 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Sep 89 p 2

[TANJUG report: "Meeting Between the Yugoslav and Greek Army Chiefs of Staff"]

[Text] Ohrid, 23 Sep—Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, until recently the chief of the General Staff of the SFRY Armed Forces, and Lieutenant Blagoje Adzic, newly appointed chief of the General Staff of the SFRY Armed Forces, met Stamatios Velidis [spelling of name as transliterated], chief of the General Staff of the Greek National Defense, here today.

Malile's 'Lies, Crude Accusations' at UN Viewed

AU0610190689 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Oct 89 p 4

[Zarko Rakic commentary: "Two-Faced Tirana"]

[Text] The Albanian propaganda machine has made itself heard again. In its well-known aggressive style, this time Tirana has taken advantage of the stage of the United Nations Organization in order to present to the world the most recent series of lies and crude accusations addressed to Yugoslavia.

This time, the host of untruths and fabricated accusations against Yugoslavia was pronounced by Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile and that is the only thing one could consider to be something new. Such anti-Yugoslav statements had been reserved mostly for the head of the Albanian party and state—Enver Hoxha in the past and now his successor Ramiz Alia. Their sentences and assessments were then repeated in a parrot fashion by lower party and state officials.

It immediately catches one's eye that the latest attack against Yugoslavia in the United Nations had been planned in advance. The Albanian minister read a speech which had been prepared in advance and his assistant even had a written retort. This only confirms the fact that the scenario and content of the plan to soil Yugoslavia on the international scene had been thoroughly thought out and prepared in Tirana. After all, this had also been done with other Albanian statements and actions aimed at slandering, disparaging, and even destroying Yugoslavia.

The World Organization had not been incidentally chosen as the stage for the most recent assault against our country and its constitutional order. The United Nations is one of the rare international organizations to which Albania belongs, so Albania is trying to make up for its isolation with aggressiveness. The truth about Albanian loneliness that has been known for decades cannot be made up for much by the facts that Tirana has diplomatic relations with over 100 countries and that it participates at several dozens of international fairs. Albanian propaganda never speaks about the contents of its relations with the world, but only presents its people with selective and one-sided choice of only the things that are in favor of the regime.

In its attitude toward Yugoslavia, Albania always goes a step further. To put it simply, Tirana acts two-facedly. As a rule, all its statements concerning Yugoslavia consist of two parts. The first, a form of disguise, speaks about good-neighborliness, noninterference into internal affairs, the recognition of sovereignty, interest in the preservation of Yugoslavia of today.... Coming immediately afterward, as was the case in New York, is a series of crude attacks and lies and direct violation of these principles that were proclaimed previously and by which Albania swears.

Over a number of years, Yugoslavia had been tacitly ignoring such Albanian behavior. With the view of maintaining peace and good-neighborly relations, Yugoslav politicians and diplomats neglected Tirana's arrogant and often hostile attitude. However, the other side considered that to be a Yugoslav weakness and even dared openly interfere into Yugoslavia's internal affairs.

Such a practice was finally stopped in New York. Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar called off the meeting with the Albanian foreign minister. Justifiably so, because for the time being Yugoslavia has nothing to discuss with a minister and his government who openly attack, slander, and soil Yugoslavia.

One should not waste words on the content of the most recent Albanian attacks against Yugoslavia. After all, what is one to say to the statement that "several hundreds of thousands Albanians have been killed and arrested in Kosovo." In fact, an elementary logic denies such an assertion because it is physically impossible to arrest so many people. However, Albania itself can manage such a thing, simply because the entire state has been turned into a prison for more than 3 million people. What right has a country of dictatorship, repression, and lack of freedom to lecture somebody on freedom and democracy and whom can it lecture?

Malile's words in New York on the very hard life in Kosovo sounded particularly funny. It is true that Yugoslavia is going through a crisis and that life is hard everywhere, including Kosovo. Even with such a situation in Yugoslavia and in Kosovo, it is still incomparably better and nicer there than in Albania. One can freely travel and work both in the country and abroad, the bicycle is not the only means of transportation, a television set is not a privilege granted solely to party people.

Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile who has spoken in New York about the hard life in Kosovo is one of the rare Albanians who had the opportunity to make trips—true, only business trips—through the world and to see how others live. He has been in Yugoslavia and knows the situation here. The majority of his fellow-countrymen know nothing about it. The lucky few who possess a television set can learn something, of course, from the programs they receive secretly from Italy and Yugoslavia.

Tupurkovski on Albania's 'Base Ambition'

AU0610190689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Speaking in Gevgelija about relations with neighbors, Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency, assessed the speech by the Albanian foreign affairs minister at the United Nations General Assembly as brutal internationalization of the Kosovo problem. Not only do we believe that this is the base ambition and euphoric negative feeling of a quasi-regime in neighboring Albania but we must deal with a deeper analysis whose interests are in favor of the destabilization of Yugoslavia, stressed Tupurkovski.

'Severe' Situation at Stari Trg Mine, Kosovo

AU1010204489 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Almost 6 months following the imposition of temporary measures and work obligation, the situation at the Stari Trg mine has not improved. On the contrary, it is becoming increasingly more severe with every passing day. Meanwhile the production tasks are only being half fulfilled. Differentiation, too, is not progressing according to expectations.

This was stated at today's meeting of the three chambers of the Titova Mitrovica Assembly.

LCY To Decide Date for Extraordinary Congress

LD04101[illegible]89 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1906 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—At its next session the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee will make a decision on the date, the venue, and the agenda of the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY. This was decided today at a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The following statement was issued:

"At a session, presided over by Milan Pancevski, the LCY Central Committee Presidium decided to convene the next—28th—session of the LCY Central Committee for 20-21 October. At this session, the LCY Central Committee will discuss a draft program document for the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY, entitled "Economic Reform and the LCY's Role and Tasks", and draft points for drawing up an ideopolitical platform of the LCY's activities in changing the political system. The LCY Central Committee will also decide on the date, the venue, and agenda for the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY.

"Within the framework of preparations for the next session of the LCY Central Committee, the Presidium also discussed a draft resolution on introducing the office of president of the LCY Central Committee, constituting executive-political organs of the LCY Central Committee, and the duration of the LCY Central Committee President's mandate.

"The Presidium also considered and adopted a set of proposed stands on the ideopolitical nature of attacks on the personality and work of Josip Broz Tito, and the LC's tasks in exposing and expressing them. These stands will be submitted to the LCY Central Committee for verification".

Chamber of Republics, Provinces Session Opens

LD0510154889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1106 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Oct (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces has decided to take the debate on law on social price control off the agenda of today's session following the republics and provinces failing to agree on the matter. In the view of the Slovene and Croat delegations the proposal on the law contains a number of unacceptable provisions. In their view the prices of oil and oil derivatives should be formed freely.

The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces will today adopt a number of laws from the sphere of finance, as well as a decision on this year's credit-monetary policy.

The delegates are also expected to adopt conclusions on the Federal Executive Council's antiflationary measures which were recently a subject of discussion in the SFRY Assembly. The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces will also consider the agricultural situation.

Adopts Economy Conclusions

LD0510222989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Oct (TANJUG)—The Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly has told the Federal Executive Council to look at all the essential elements of the final part of the program for bringing down inflation and to adopt it as soon as possible, and at the latest by the time of the approval of the economic policy for 1990. This is the essence of the conclusions from the recent debate on fulfilling this year's economic policy and anti-inflationary measures, which the delegates of this Assembly body approved at the end of their session today.

The chamber stresses in the conclusions the need for an urgent study and search for solutions to the problems of the accumulated and current deficits and bad debts in the economy, banks, self-managing communities of interest, social activities and sociopolitical communities.

Serbian Bodies Issue Election Proclamation

AU0510080989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 89 p 3

[Slavisa Lekic report: "The Reform Begins With Elections"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 Sep—A successful outcome of the reform depends on who will carry it through. This is the sense, the essence, and the goal of the Proclamation on the coming delegate elections in Serbia, the Program of Activities, and the Rules on Election Procedure adopted by the members of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia and the Trade Union Council at their joint session today, appealing to all the working people and citizens to make a maximum effort in the forthcoming election activities.

According to the timetable adopted today, the election activities virtually began on 15 September and they will continue until the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia convenes on 5 December. All the elections to the Associated Labor Chambers of all the assemblies should therefore be completed by 10 November, and the elections to the Sociopolitical Chambers and the Local Communities Chambers, from the communes up to the republic, should be held on Sunday, 12 November. The first opening sessions of the communal assemblies are envisaged for 27 and 28 November, of the Belgrade city assembly for 1 December, of the provinces for 4 December, and the Assembly of Serbia will meet on 5 December. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Proclamation

Citizens of the Socialist Republic of Serbia:

We have entered early elections, because we are in a hurry to master the crisis, to implement the reforms, and to proceed along the road of economic and social progress. We want unity and a stable development of the country, a better life, and a secure future for our children and for us all.

We have the duty to vote, but also a possibility to chose. Therefore let us make use of our right. Let us select the best: they are among us, in our work places and our communities. We know them.

With unity having been achieved in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, our step into the future will be faster and longer if we are led by capable, responsible, honest, and brave people. Let us find them among ourselves, let us nominate them, and let us elect them to the delegations and as delegates to our assemblies. It is easy to select best people from the lists of candidates that contain good people.

The elections are another stimulus to a full mobilization of all the spiritual and creative forces in the republic: to progress and renaissance of the economy and society; to a unified and strong Yugoslavia, a federal, democratic, and socialist community of free and equal people, peoples, and nationalities; to a unified, economically strong, and rich Socialist Republic of Serbia; to a social system in which work and the results of work will be a measure of all social values; to an entry into the world of developed countries in which freedom, peace, and life in dignity and wellbeing will be the main attributes.

To fill responsible places in the assemblies, let us elect people who will pull society out of the crisis and lead it into progress, and who will make a direct contribution to the economic and political reform, democracy, culture, and education.

Let us elect those who will help us to stop the fall in the standard of living; to create the conditions of work and life fit for man; to advance the productivity of labor; to improve the position of agriculture and the conditions for its development; to protect nature and human environment; to make workers and creators in towns and in the countryside most important people; to develop humane, spiritually rich, and international relations among people and nations; to strengthen the unity of the peoples and nationalities in Socialist Republic of Serbia; to make the work of the leadership an expression of the will and the needs of the people; to support and to strengthen every initiative, working and creative, social and private; to ensure comprehensive economic, political, and cultural development and equality of the people of all the nations that live in our republic; to create living, working, and creative prospects for our youth; to make the personal and family life of every man more happy; to ensure a secure future for our children; to protect old and sick people; to advance physical and mental health; to build moral criteria and the awareness of the need for solidarity among people and nations; to strengthen, protect, and raise the prestige of Yugoslavia.

Citizens of Serbia:

Let us come to the voting stations. Let us confirm once again our devotion to and our resolution for the policy of social progress. Let us make our contribution to the unity of the people of Serbia and its leadership also in this way. Our future is in our hands.

Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia, The Trade Union Federation Council of Serbia.

Serbia Blames LCY for Slovene Separatism

LD2909151889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0941 GMT 29 Sep 89

["JEDINSTVO of Pristina: Perfidious Treason"—TANJUG headline]

[Summary] Pristina, 29 Sep (TANJUG)—In its commentary under the above title JEDINSTVO of Pristina today denounces delegates in the Slovene Assembly for having turned their backs on the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia by adopting amendments to the republic's constitution. By this action they have taken on the responsibility for the consequences they will face on relations in Yugoslavia.

"The paper goes on to express hope that the Slovene people will speak out against separatist aspirations and appetites in its leadership. JEDINSTVO also asks whether all this would have happened if some individuals from Slovenia occupying top functions in the Federation, and this primarily refers to Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, had acted in line with the common interests of this country. Instead, they teamed up with the Slovene leadership and have, thus, offered support to those aspiring to destroy Yugoslavia. So, if in addition to the Slovene headmen anyone else is to be held responsible for what happened in the Slovene Assembly the day before yesterday, it is ther two federal officials, JEDINSTVO concludes."

Racan on Army's Tasks, Slovene Amendments

LD0610010189 Belgrade TANJUG
in English 2204 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Zagreb, Oct 5 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Peoples Army (JNA) is a guarantor against both hegemonistic-unitaristic and separatist threats on Yugoslavia, Ivica Racan, a League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee (CC) Presidency member, said today.

Racan, one of the three members from Croatia in the 23-member LCY CC Presidency, warned that recently there have been too many calculations about the JNA's position and behaviour, in an attempt to discredit it.

Racan, one of the candidates for the next president of the Croatian LC CC—the second numerous LC in the country—expressed concern that some party members and leaderships have recently threatened with the use of force or arms, which he described as an attack on Yugoslavia.

Last week's speech of Montenegrin party President Momir Bulatovic reflected such views at a popular meeting in Titograd which was organized after the adoption of the disputed amendments to the constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, Racan said.

Commenting the Slovenian constitutional amendments, Racan said that some stands might be in opposition to the existing federal Constitution, but added that the whole issue was turned into a political issue. The problem should be turned over to authorized state organs and not demand a solution by introducing a state of emergency, Racan said.

Speaking on the forthcoming trial of Azem Vlasi, the former party leader of the Province of Kosovo which has been the site of counter-revolutionary activities of ethnic Albanian separatists, Racan said that the case has serious implications adding that the trial should be held strictly under the law.

In this context, Racan stressed that the Yugoslav society had to fight for the right not to settle political clashes at trials.

Creation of Slovene Press Agency Proposed

AU0610092689 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 4 Oct 89 p 6

[M. L. report: "A Slovene Press Agency Soon?"]

[Text] Even though its was not envisaged by the agenda a session of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia once again sharply and openly attacked today, the day of Slovene statehood, not only the daily POLITIKA but also the magazines that are published by this house. The TANJUG agency was also criticized and accused of monopolistic behavior and writing under Serbian influence.

The session of this Presidium began with sickly concern for the Slovenes who have emigrated and who are increasingly estranged from the Slovene center, and who number more than 60,000, as Zora Tomic said. Apart from the worry about how to return what has been lost, the so-called national identity of the emigrants, there was also discussion about the political rehabilitation of the 25 Slovene deputies who are well-known in this Republic from the "1971 affair."

Joze Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia, used this session to thank the "numerous citizens and organizations from Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and even emigrants abroad for their full support during the adoption of the amendments to the Slovene constitution."

Milos Mikeln, president of the Committee for Culture within the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia, said that this committee had proposed that a Slovene press agency be set up. "We have all the opportunities for this and above all journalists with international experience," said Mikeln.

Croat Daily Criticizes Montenegrin Party Chief

AU0410135189 Zagreb VJESNIK
in Serbo-Croatian 29 Sep 89 p 1

[Dragan Djuric commentary: "Deja Vu"]

[Text] At the time when the Slovene Assembly was still discussing the amendments to the Slovene Constitution, a meeting in Titograd, at which indignation was expressed many times about the controversial amendments, was already over. Yet, while the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia had fought a hard battle over the amendments during the previous night and had tried to resolve the dispute through a discussion and arguments, the meeting in Titograd resembled something that has already been seen.

The participants in the meeting issued threats again, this time to Slovenia. The head of the Montenegrin Communists, Momir Bulatovic, did not miss the opportunity to sabre rattle, even though only with words. The youngest president of any republican party organization in Yugoslavia said that "we should not be reproached if we ask for arms," adding that "we have these arms," and "they are in the hands of our Yugoslav People's Army." Thus, that very day demonstrated the realism of the remark made by Ivo Druzic—which was rejected in several subsequent speeches—that, because the aim of the Central Committee session was not defined, and because of a possible threatened state of emergency, somebody could also compromise the army leadership itself.

However much one should not take it for granted that what was involved was the creation of a policy—because this was a meeting—one should, nevertheless, not forget that it is in fact the meetings that have often served the aims of some quite clear political options. Therefore, it would be very naive to overlook the messages from this meeting and, bearing in mind Vlasi's experience, it would not be advisable to simply discard the slogan "Arrest Kucan," and understand it only as an additional decorative detail.

However that may be, the unquestionable dispute between the federation and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia over the constitution cannot be resolved at the meetings and with their messages, but must be tackled with democratic means that respect the principles of a law-governed state. This also implies the involvement of the Constitutional Court in the amendments saga, as well as the talks throughout the country.

If one recalls the recent social meeting in Niksic, and if one places it in the context of this meeting in Titograd, then it is increasingly obvious that the new Montenegrin leadership—which in fact enthroned itself in Montenegrin politics through the meetings—being unable to quickly resolve the grave economic situation in Montenegro, resorted to the same means and in this way procured legitimacy for itself. However, in contrast to the past, when the culprit was found in the former "non-people's" Montenegrin leadership, this time the culprits are found outside the republic, in the Federal Executive Council or the Slovene leadership, which, it is claimed, are undermining the foundations of Yugoslavia. So, notwithstanding the "program of the future," which was adopted at the 10th extraordinary congress of the League of Communists of Montenegro, in which the leadership opted for a modern policy of development and democratic principles, the Montenegrin leadership is, objectively speaking, going further and further away from it, thus letting itself down, and obviously becoming increasingly unable to take the steps defined by the program.

How a democratic dialogue is viewed is best illustrated by Bulatovic who, referring to the session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, recalled the old saying: "Snow falls, not to blanket the world, but so that animals can leave their footprints." Is this the announcement of a "democratic" hunt for those who hold different views?

Talking about footprints, it is interesting that the initiative for this meeting again came from the workers of the Radoje Dakic work organization, which played the crucial role in the abdication of the former Montenegrin leadership and which, despite the "new leadership," have not managed to eliminate enormous weaknesses in their own community that is burdened by serious internal clashes, mainly because of the poor business results. In any case, it is becoming increasingly obvious that it is simpler to build one's politics and one's position by destroying politics rather than by creating them.

Kosovo LC Commission Punishes Various Members

LD0510220289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Pristina, 5 Oct (TANJUG)—At its session the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Statutory Commission has relieved Erhan Corogli, a member of this commission, of his duty. His relieving of duty has been initiated by the Titova Mitrovica LC Municipal Committee by assessing that he, in his capacity as the ex-secretary of this committee's Presidium bore "the responsibility for the November demonstration and February strikes in Stari Trg, Trepca Combine and the Municipality. It was judged that Corogli had behaved passively during these stormy events and had not distanced himself from the unacceptable demands of the Stari Trg miners. His possible ideopolitical responsibility will be established by the Titova Mitrovica LC Municipal Committee, of which he was a member.

The members of the statutory commission have not accepted Erhan Corgoli's claims that there were no indices of his responsibility and for relieving him of his hitherto duty in this commission. His accusations and qualifications regarding the Working Group of the Kosovo LC Statutory Commission were rejected.

The case of Femi Bojadziu too was on the agenda of today's session of the Kosovo LC Statutory Commission. He, as it has been established, took in an unauthorized and deceitful way his party documents in the Dragas Clinic at the time when the working group was proposing that he be expelled from the LC for having signed "the 215 appeal" aimed at the constitutional changes of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

In the meantime Bojadziu joined the party organization at Pristina University Clinic, where he started his specialist training. Since he had not terminated his employment in the Dragas Clinic he was paying his party membership fees to his original party organization. It was also established that Bojadziu had an influence on the deterioration in intranational relations between the Albanians and th Muslims in his collective. This is why the statutory commission endorsed the originally pronounced measure of expulsion from the LC.

The Statutory Commission also endorsed the punishment of expulsion in the case of Haki Jasanica, an ex-member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and director of the Kosovo Agricultural Cooperative. According to the assessment of the Lipljan LC Municipal Committee and the report of the Statutory Commission, Jasanica was involved in sending the telegrams of support to the Stari Trg miners. A group of the workers of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality have complained of his behaviour, saying that he put pressure on them to emigrate. Apart from this Jasanica has his share in the irregularties in the employment policy and the allocation of apartments in his working organizations.

Two Candidates for Presidency of Macedonian LC

LD0410093489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Skopje, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—The Macedonian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee today discussed problems in culture and candidates for posts in the Macedonian LC.

After a discussion which lasted a full 8 hours, the Macedonian LC Central Committee established provisional lists of candidates for membership of Macedonian LC organs and of the LCY from Macedonia. Municipal LC organisations will vote on the lists at electoral conferences.

Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Presidium [of the Macedonian LC Central Committee] requested to be excluded from the list of candidates for LCY organs, and this was accepted. Petre Georgievski, a member of the Macedonian LC Central Committee, likewise at his own personal request, was excluded from the list of candidates for Macedonian LC organs.

The Central Committee accepted the initiatives from the Macedonian basic LC organizations that Mihail Danev, secretary of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, and Petar Gosev, a member of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, be established as candidates for president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee [Presidium]. Municipal electoral conferences will vote on their candidature in secret ballots.

Montenegro Party Boss Threatens Use of Arms

AU0310152289 Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 89 p 6

[Unattributed report on speech by Momir Bulatovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Montenegrin League of Communists, at a protest meeting in Titograd on 27 September: "People Are Lecturing Politicians on Politics"]

[Text] One must know that when people gather together in front of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro they do not need to be taught politics. These people are lecturing politicians on politics. We are also here to hear the original words and wishes of the people.

Yesterday's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has added yet another scar to our great concern for the fate of Yugoslavia [sentence as published]. However, I would like to ask you to try to interpret this session through the old saying: "Snow falls, not to blanket the world, but so that animals can leave their footprints." Yesterday, when we had the opportunity to clearly and loudly say in front of the entire Yugoslav public that we are not giving Yugoslavia away, and that nobody can be allowed to reshape it, we could see who deserves to remain a politician, who deserves the people's trust, and who should be deprived of it, now or in a few days time, it does not matter when. I can already see what kind of reaction this will provoke from various democratic communities. They will say that we do not know how to behave. On the other hand, however, they need to be reminded that this Yugoslavia has not been, as we all know, created in the armchairs of the Sava Center, nor will it be dismantled in them. Our will, the will of all patriotically oriented citizens of Yugoslavia, is indeed the only guiding factor for political activities. As Comrade Milo Djukanovic said, this will be the only and the greatest guidance for us, who have been chosen by you to be the representatives of the Montenegrin people and all working peoples and citizens of Montenegro for a certain period.

The clear orientation of the top state organs does not cast any doubt on the fact that our patriotic orientations, our endeavor to preserve Yugoslavia and to develop it further will be realized. On the other hand, we should not be reproached if we also ask for arms. As you know, we have these arms. They are in the hands of our Yugoslav People's Army, because we are all its soldiers. If, in accordance with the laws of this country and the SFRY Constitution, the need arises for us to defend the territorial integrity and inviolability of our Yugoslavia in this way, then they can count on us to the full, on all of us here.

Expressing thanks once again on behalf of all of us who are here with you, I would like to greet you and express my wish that this gathering be indeed a happy and successful one, and that we continue the political and all other activities that we have started, Momir Bulatovic said.

Yugoslav Democratic Initiative Viewed

AU0510082389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 89 p 2

[Sanja Modric commentary: "Arguments From a National Nest"]

[Text] The life of the Yugoslav public according to the direct dictate of the political power of the state-party apparatus—that is, the situation that we have been in and which continues to be zealously defended—has never corresponded to even the broadest definition of democracy. Despite all this, a new type of public is being formed in the Yugoslav "hotch-potch" which again does not depend on the citizen but this time on ethnic groups and the force of their prejudices that are inherited or acquired in homogenizations which are most frequently unspontaneous.

Protests at this development of matters, that is to say, the replacement of one bad model with a new and equally bad one can be increasingly frequently heard in the Yugoslav public. However, since they most often originate from politically unestablished circles, it is understandable that they do not have the necessary scope, nor do they have an effect. Indeed, official places reply to demands for real openness, democracy, and pluralism with approbation, but the bare truth is thus uncomfortably ironic. Democratic rights continue to be kept in the "bag" and those who hold the "strings" would give them out drop by drop according to their own free judgment. The clumsy idea of "more democracy" with which reforming rostrums draw applause survives in this political environment. It is as if even today those who applaud do not know that democracy is basically very simple: it either is or it is not. Unpleasant things happen to those who know this and therefore do not applaud such promises. An example of this is the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative [AYDI].

As is well-known from press reports, the AYDI has recently again been denied the right to establish itself. This time this was done "in the name of the people" by the Administrative Court in Zagreb and prior to it, the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Zagreb where this society of like-minded people as regards questions of democracy wanted to register itself and set up headquarters. The case of the AYDI clearly shows to what extent official politicians take pluralism seriously and to what extent the nice words that are addressed to it are only cosmetic rhetoric for the political status quo, that is to say, a concealed appeal of "leave me in power."

In February when the AYDI was set up by a group of prominent intellectuals from Zagreb with support from Belgrade, Ljubljana, and other parts of the country, it was the only association that let it be known not just in its program but also in its name that it has Yugoslav ambitions. In the meantime it has been joined by a large number of members and received the support, which surprised the association itself, of the political structures in the republic. They welcomed such a gathering along a Yugoslav and single-nation line and publicly hoped that the activities of the AYDI would contribute to the realization of a program of "Yugoslav synthesis." The AYDI also publicly revealed that it does not consider itself either an alternative movement or a party [stranka] or a new Communist party [partija] but simply and clearly an association of citizens which would advocate in its cultural and political activities the establishment of the rule of law, democratic relations, the pluralism of political views, and the influence of every employed citizen on the management of work in the community in which he acts. They also publicly stressed several times that they are not interested in the names in an electoral contest but the procedural regulations of a new democratic system.

However, "beliefs" of this type were obviously not enough for some people. "The poke in the eye" and most probably the main reason for doubting the "honorable intentions" of the AYDI was the fact that this group wanted to be registered outside the "cosy protection" of the Socialist Alliance, and it has not changed its view even now that it has been rejected for a second time. And this time it has no right of appeal. Precisely because of this, the tested "hot-cold" strategy was used toward the association (the strategy of verbal support and legal prohibition). As Dr Zarko Puhovski, one of the leaders of the AYDI, recently said, doubts about the AYDI were stoked up by the information media which is also a good instrument in the merciless wars between national oligarchies. Thus, as Puhovski claims, the VJESNIK house several times implicitly presented the AYDI as a unitarist association and the outstretched hand of Slobodan Milosevic, but POLITIKA at the same time saw the appearance of the AYDI as a part of Croatian homogenization against the Serbian people. The simultaneity of such contradictory interpretations of the "real motives" of this association again reveals in what way the matrix of "public opinion" is nowadays being formed. Instead of using the arguments that are on the table, prejudices are being reached for which are securely enthroned in "our" national nest. Therefore, in order to judge any initiative it is becoming essential to know where it comes from, from which side, and from whom and, subsidiary and negligible to this—what is it really offering. The AYDI did not pass through this filtering process and therefore remains illegal, as the facts indicate.

The arguments that are offered with this decision are feeble and contradictory. The court made its decision according to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, which does not guarantee that individuals can realize political interests through the association of citizens. This need, as the court says, is met in sociopolitical organizations which "the citizens themselves set up".... On the other hand, the SFRY Constitution guarantees freedom of association for the sake of political interests and warns that nothing should limit this right. However, who still listens to the federal constitution when the republican, local, and localist alters are the only ones that are zealously prayed to. And even when this is completely "out" from the civilized viewpoint. Since the AYDI has refused to join in, its fate is sealed. Furthermore, it is still openly supporting the integration of Yugoslavia and not the preeminence of one or other self-sufficient state within a state, which is something that is nevertheless outmoded and a "pure anachronism." And this is not all. The AYDI thinks that it does not in the least need the Socialist Alliance of Working People and cares little about the other sociopolitical organizations which are offered to it as a framework to be politically satisfied. Moreover, the AYDI clearly says that it does not agree to the right to free association being considered to have been used up once and for all. After all, Montenegro is also in Yugoslavia, and the Association for Promoting Democratic Processes which has identical aims to the AYDI effortlessly received the right to register in Niksic.

In the meantime, AYDI members say that they will look for a place in the SFRY where "more of a freedom loving tradition" prevails and in this, still unknown town carry out the solemn act of being written into the register. Despite the way things now stand, they will certainly find such a place.

Markovic Answers Television Viewers' Questions

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[Text] The guest on this evening's television program, Dialogues, was Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC]. The FEC president spoke with journalists from several Yugoslav television centers, and part of the program was earmarked for Ante Markovic to reply to questions from viewers. The replies by the FEC president to several questions from journalists and viewers have been highlighted by Radio Sarajevo reporter Ivan Kristic:

Inflation reached a record increase of 48 percent last month. Why was there such a high increase? Replying to this question, Ante Markovic said, among other things:

[Begin Markovic recording] Above all, we have reached a stage in inflation in which its increase depends, above all, not just on those real causes of inflation which are long-term, and for which not only much more long-term diagnoses and cures are needed, but also everything that should follow them. Therefore this does not involve only real causes of inflation, but this now involves so-called psychological factors which have an influence on inflation and so-called inflationary expectations. These inflationary expectations have in fact been strongly built in during these 9 months of inflation.

There are numerous influences on these expectations, among other things, when one of our forums proclaimed the obligation to adopt a firmly anti-inflationary program. This immediately has an influence, just like the questions that some of my former colleagues asked me on the telephone: Will wages be frozen? Will prices be frozen? In the same way, an atmosphere is created that we are in such a situation that shock-therapy and so on must be applied. All of this has an influence on the so-called psychological side of inflation and on inflationary expectations. [end recording]

How does one crush the psychological inflationary factor and eliminate the causes which have led to inflation? was one of the questions. The Federal Executive Council president replied:

[Begin Markovic recording] Above all, we have issued a regulation on the basis of the law, to which the FEC has a right, which was a decision on the so-called separation of the price of goods from the price of capital. This is so that the price of capital is not built into the price of goods, but is added on at the moment of sale to the buyer. If this is implemented, then at the same time, the price of all products which have these inflationary expectations built into them must be reduced by three to four times but, if the buyer buys them after some time, then these products would have somewhat higher prices, but not those prices that have inflation built into them 3 or 4 months in advance. [end recording]

The liberalization of prices, imports, and personal incomes was part of the orientation toward deregulation. This was done in a logical sequence, said the Yugoslav premier, and he added:

[Begin Markovic recording] We therefore now have colossal results in exports, but I can say more about this afterwards. We now have an increased rise in exports, increased foreign exchange reserves, and increased foreign currency earnings. I can now say that they are increasing so quickly that when I presented my report to the SFRY Assembly, the foreign currency reserves were $5.15 billion but now they are $5.35 billion; that means that they are $200 million higher. The short-term credit line, that means the short-term debt to foreign countries, was somewhere around $1.07 billion or $1.08 billion in the third month of this year and it is now around $500,000 or so, which means that it has been halved. When we add this, we have in fact now created an outstanding situation in foreign currency reserves which allows us to implement further liberalization. Thus, we have now oriented ourselves to go a step further. We have liberalized 87 percent of all imports and thus, in one part we have liberalized imports of consumer goods and the other part is now to come. This second part also contains cars. [end recording]

The reform of the economic system has a vision of new socialism which is economically efficient. This cannot be realized, however, without a simultaneous reform of the political system. Forces are now being activated on social tensions which hinder reform. Replying to a question of what he thought about demands that inflation should be curbed quickly, Ante Markovic said:

[Begin Markovic recording] I must say that so far I have not heard one single concrete proposal for crushing inflation. So far I have heard that inflation should be brought down quickly, that this should be done by using all means and at all costs but, hear this, all of this is not reasoned discussion. [words indistinct] We have a very complex, expert task to which the mechanism of the country should be applied. [end recording]

Time is not our ally, which is why one should work quickly and effectively. If we do not implement reform, then we will recede backwards and this would be lethal. We must therefore push forward and open up a vision of progress, said Ante Markovic, FEC president, in the television program, Dialogues.

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Retail Prices Increase 48 Percent in Sep

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[Text] Belgrade, Oct 3 (TANJUG)—Retail prices in Yugoslavia rose by 48 percent last month, exceeding all the estimates of economists and surprising the government of Ante Markovic, which urges the free formation of prices without state interference.Yugoslav Deputy Trade Minister Branko Maricic told the delegates in the Federal Assembly today that the government wants to examine the causes of such high price rises. Maricic recalled that the economists' estimates for September envisaged a mazimum monthly inflation rate of 33 to 34 percent (the annual inflation rate in the country stood at nearly 900 percent in August).

Maricic pointed out the surprisingly drastic difference between the economists' estimates and the present indicators, adding that the government will inform the Federal Assembly about this tomorrow.